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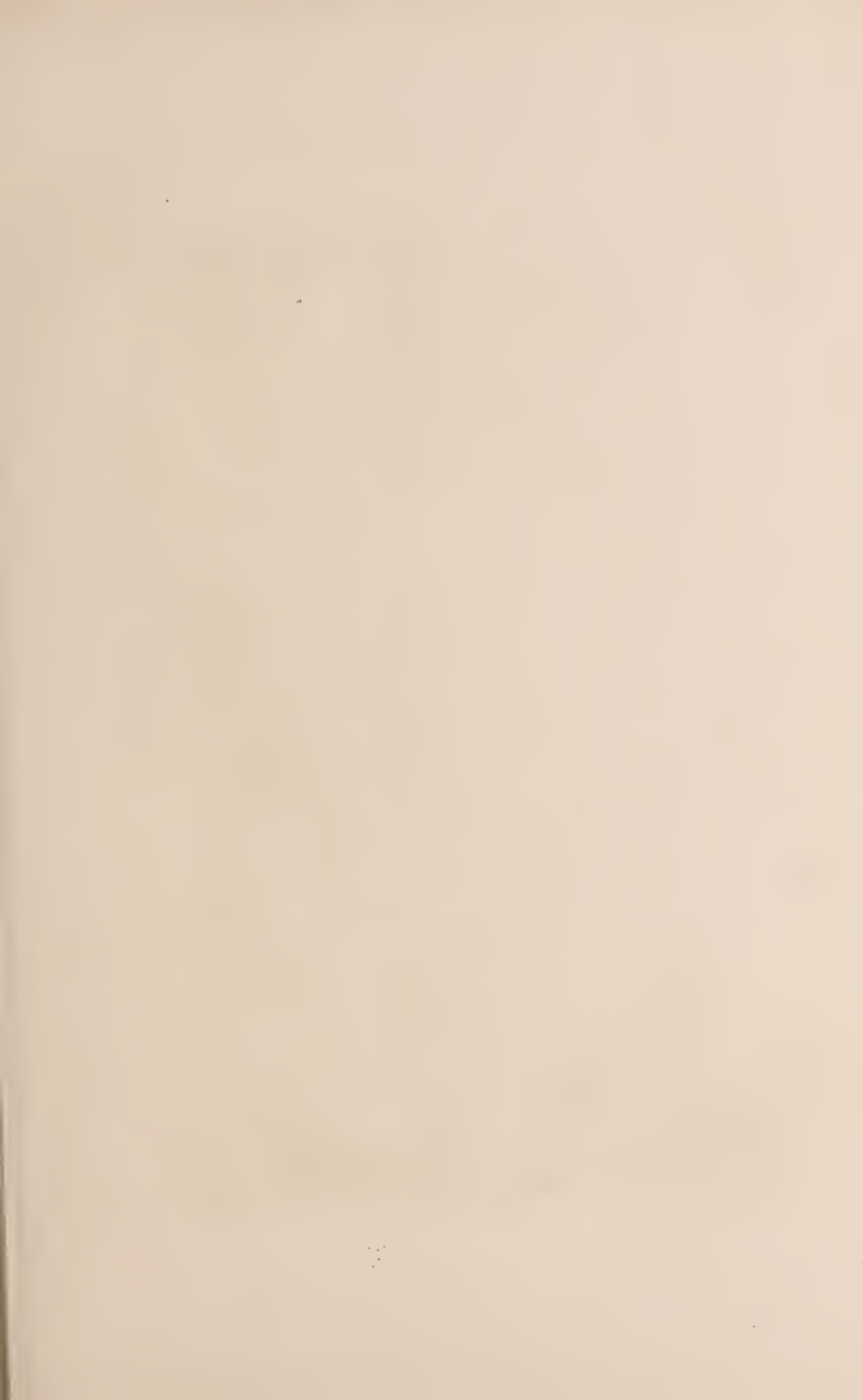








VIEW OF THE STREET OF THE GREAT BAZAR, CONSTANTINOPLE.











THE LIFE OF THE LATE GENERAL SIR JOHN BURNES, BY HIS SON, CAPTAIN JOHN BURNES. 2 VOLS. 8vo. 1844. 10s. 6d.

NEW YORK: 1844.

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THE BATTLE OF TEWKESBURY. A.D. 1471. THE KING OF FRANCE, THE KING OF SCOTLAND, AND THE KING OF CASTILE, WITH THEIR ARMIES, ARE SEEN IN THE DISTANCE.







THE BATTLE OF BATTLE FORD, 1863. THE BRITISH ARMY, UNDER THE COMMAND OF LORD RALPH DOWNS, BEATING THE AMERICAN ARMY, UNDER THE COMMAND OF GENERAL BURNETT, ON THE 15TH OF JULY, 1863.

THE BATTLE OF BATTLE FORD, 1863. THE BRITISH ARMY, UNDER THE COMMAND OF LORD RALPH DOWNS, BEATING THE AMERICAN ARMY, UNDER THE COMMAND OF GENERAL BURNETT, ON THE 15TH OF JULY, 1863.

lery, also merit particular notice for their zeal and energy on duty.

"My future movements must be guided, in a great measure, by the information I may receive from other quarters. Meanwhile, a good supply of ammunition is earnestly required for her majesty's 5th fusiliers, to the extent of eighty rounds per man, and grape for two 9-pounders and howitzer. Enclosed are the returns of casualties on the 2nd instant.*—I have, &c.,

"V. EYRE, Major,

"Commanding Field Force."

"P.S.—Mr. Wake, the magistrate of Arrah, has just ridden into camp; his defence of his house seems to have been almost miraculous."

A report from Captain F. W. L'Estrange accompanied the above, and detailed the successful operations of the auxiliary force under his command, consisting of 160 men of the 5th European regiment, who had ably seconded the proceedings of the force under Major Eyre.

The very strong opinion expressed by Major Eyre in the concluding sentences of the first paragraph of his report, drew from Major-general Lloyd a distinct repudiation of the inference sought to be conveyed by it; and, on the 10th of August, that officer wrote to the deputy-adjutant-general from Dinapore in the following terms:—

"Sir,—In a despatch from Major V. Eyre, dated 'Camp, near Arrah, 3rd instant,' forwarded with Colonel Cumberlege's† letter of the 4th idem to your address, he adverts to the severe loss sustained by a detachment dispatched to Arrah, under my orders, on the 29th of July; adding, 'I venture to affirm, confidently, that no such disaster would have been likely to occur had the detachment advanced less precipitately, so as to have given full time for my force to approach direct from the opposite side; for the rebels would then have been hemmed in between two opposing forces, and must have been utterly routed.'

"Lest the foregoing observation and opinion should be accepted, I deem it a duty to myself to state, that the first intimation received by me of the debarkation at Buxar of Major Eyre's forces, was contained in a letter dated the 30th ultimo (which reached me by steamer the same day), the Dinapore

detachment having started on its expedition to Arrah the day before; also, that Major Eyre made no previous communication whatever concerning his movements, nor had I reason to suppose that any land operation would have been attempted by him; hence, at the time, any undertaking from Dinapore, in concert with Major Eyre, was obviously impracticable.—I have, &c.,

"G. W. A. LLOYD."

The station at Arrah having been effectually relieved from the presence of the rebellious soldiery and their improvised leader Koer Sing, with his followers, a brief reference to correspondence descriptive of the occurrences at Dinapore and Arrah, may not be out of place.

Commencing with a letter from a medical officer attached to her majesty's 10th regiment at Dinapore, under date of August the 2nd, we read as follows:—

"Since I last wrote to you the native regiments here have mutinied, but without any loss of life to us. I told you all along the rascals would never attack the 10th. We are all so much disgusted here with the whole affair, that really, as an officer of the regiment, I have neither patience nor time to give a full account of the very bad management of the general and his staff in allowing the three regiments to escape. They went off in the direction of the Soane river, which they managed to cross, and afterwards marched towards Arrah. The day of the mutiny, and a few hours before it broke out, the general commanding gave orders for the removal of the percussion-caps from the magazine situated at the top of the native lines. This was done at an early hour of the morning; and as the artillery cart passed down where the native regiments were parading, the 7th and 8th gave a shout, and showed evident symptoms of their desire to stop it; but they were prevented, and the cart was brought safely on to our mess-room. These two regiments were in open revolt at six o'clock A.M. The general was informed of the fact; and in place of ordering up the guns and the 10th to disarm the 7th, 8th, and 40th, on the spot, he only issued the supine order for the native officers to collect the caps that the sepoys were in possession of, and to report to him by twelve o'clock that this was effected. When the native officers went to carry, or pretended to carry, this contemptible and temporising order into effect, the 7th and 8th would not give up their caps, but some

* The returns give a total of two killed and sixteen wounded.

† The officer who superseded General Lloyd in command at Dinapore.

of the 40th complied. The European officers belonging to the regiments afterwards went up to the rebels, and endeavoured to get them to do so, but their efforts were unavailing. The sepoys told their officers to be off, and fired upon them, but, happily, without killing or wounding any of them.

"The hospital guard saw all this; and perceiving the officers running towards the 10th's lines, the signal guns were fired off from the hospital. The whole of my patients got on the top of it. They kept up a steady fire, and managed, infirm in health as they were, to kill about a dozen of the scoundrels. The regiment turned out, and every one was in his place in the course of a few minutes. I galloped round the houses, and got all the ladies, women, and children brought down to the barracks. The order was given—'Guns to the front;' and on we went in the fond anticipation of cutting these three rebel regiments to pieces. Some of the 37th (Queen's), who arrived here the day before, were thrown out in skirmishing order. The 10th advanced with their guns; and great was our mortification when we perceived the sepoys running across the country like deer. We fired six guns after them without effect; and here ended this most disgracefully mismanaged affair. One fellow fired at myself as I was carrying an order, but the ball did not hit me. Some of the men saw where it came from, and found him concealed in one of the huts; they soon dispatched him. We only killed about thirty of the mutineers; had they stopped, and given the gallant 10th a chance, they would have bagged the whole, or at all events the greater proportion of them; and it is galling and most mortifying to the regiment to think that it has been prevented doing so by the imbecility of the general, whose conduct, for many weeks past, has been the means at least of bringing a heavy affliction upon her majesty's 10th. I must here explain, that after the rebels ran off, an order was given (two days afterwards) for the head-quarters of the regiment to proceed to Arrah by a steamer, to relieve some Europeans besieged in that place. This order was, however, cancelled, and a small detachment of the 10th was sent, under the command of one of our senior captains (Dunbar.) The strength of the detachment amounted to 150 men and four officers. There were also 230 men of the 37th, and a proportion of officers; the whole force constituting nearly 400 men, including eight or ten officers

of the native regiments from here, who volunteered. The boat containing the 37th got aground, but they were taken on board of the one which was proceeding up with the 10th men. They all landed safely, and continued their march towards Arrah; the whole being under the command of Captain Dunbar, who made a sad mess of it. He did not, it appears, take the precaution of throwing out an advanced guard; and when our gallant soldiers were marching on in the full hope of doing good work, they were, about two o'clock in the morning, fired upon by 2,000 sepoys, who were lying in ambush for them. Captain Dunbar was killed on the spot, as well as three officers of the 37th. The men became panic-stricken, and they retreated in the direction of the steamer, which lay two miles out in the stream. Both detachments were severely handled, and the 10th have lost seventy men killed and wounded in this unfortunate expedition. The 37th sustained pretty much the same loss. The remainder of the detachment arrived back here on Friday. All our men are badly wounded; and for the last two days I have had hard work amputating and extracting balls. I wash the blood from my hands to go and write this to you, and again to return to the hospital. In the absence of Dr. Gordon on medical certificate, you are aware that I have had full medical charge of the regiment for nearly twelve months past; and in the present untoward emergency I have had plenty to do, and with little assistance, on account of Dr. Tulloch, the second assistant, being with a detachment at Benares, and from Mr. Tucker, the junior assistant, having been sent off to Patna in medical charge of another detachment on the very day the wounded arrived back from Arrah; but I have now got assistance, and will manage to get a sleep to-night. Poor Erskine was mortally wounded in the abdomen; he expired yesterday. Sandwith and Battye were also wounded; but both, I am happy to say, are doing well. The names of the officers of the 37th killed are—Lieutenant Bagenall and Ensigns Birket and Sale. Mr. Ingilby, of the 7th regiment, was also killed. He was one of the European officers of the native regiments who volunteered, several of whom have come back here badly wounded; some have been drowned, and others are missing. The medical officer sent in charge was also wounded; and all the medical stores I sent for the use of the

men have been lost. I need not say that the poor ladies and wives of the men are in great distress about their husbands. All the ladies are ordered from this to Calcutta. The 10th, now here, are greatly reduced in numbers, and we have at this time only four officers fit for duty; but we expect more troops daily. The treasure has been removed from here, and we are all in great excitement. If you will refer to my letters written more than two months ago, you will read in them that I then advocated the disarming of these regiments, and frankly stated that the general would some day regret his misplaced confidence in them. That day has at last arrived. In the whole of her majesty's army there is not a corps in higher discipline than the 10th. The gallant Colonel Franks made them a model regiment. Their movements were as one man; and I will not admit that even the guards could have gone through their evolutions with the same, or at least with more, precision and soldierlike bearing than this regiment to which I have the honour to belong; and although three regiments were opposed to us, we were burning to get at them, notwithstanding we had little more than 400 effective bayonets; for, what with the detachment at Benares and the sick in hospital, the above number was all we had here. The discipline and efficiency of the regiment are well preserved by the gallant officer, Colonel Fenwick, now in command; and had it been his lot to take charge of the small expedition sent to Arrah, this catastrophe, I think, would not have happened, because he would have been more cautious.

"General Lloyd had been, I am informed, nearly fifty years in India, and, from bodily infirmity, is altogether unfit for such a command in such troublesome times. Surely it is high time for any field officer to retire when he requires help to be put on and taken off his horse. We are all vexed beyond measure that he has prevented the brave 10th from proving to the world that, with only 400 men, they would have licked, and that most effectually, three regiments of insurgent sepoys.

"We hear that large supplies of troops are coming to our aid. I hope the British government will bear in mind the necessity of keeping up a continued flow of fresh regiments for some time to come, so as to supply the deficiency which sickness will create. It is not the mere sending of 50,000 men that will do in this presidency

alone, unless that number is steadily kept up by an infusion of healthy men sent out for some years to come, to supply the place of invalids sent home and the sick in hospital. This, believe me, is a most trying climate for Europeans."

Another letter describes the disastrous night march near Arrah, in the following language:—

"Patna, July 31st.

"I thank God that I am alive and well, and able to write to you once more. I have been in great danger, and never expected to reach this place alive again; but God has been most merciful to me. As I dare say you would like to hear the whole story, I will begin at the beginning. About a week ago, as we have long anticipated, the three native regiments at Dinapore mutinied. The general, an old man in his second childhood, managed the whole affair very badly, or rather did nothing at all. No one knew who was in command of the Europeans; no one knew who to look to for orders; the general was not to be found; and the consequence was, that the three regiments managed to get clear off with their arms and ammunition, and almost without losing a single man! The general was advised and asked to send men after them; but this he altogether declined to do, and determined to keep every European in Dinapore, to take care of that place. A day or so after the mutineers left, we heard that they had gone to Arrah, where they were attacking poor Wake and party, consisting of about twelve or thirteen Europeans, and fifty Sikhs. Wake had strongly fortified a puckha house, and laid in lots of ammunition and food. Directly we heard of this, and that they were holding out well, Mr. Tayler wrote to the general to send out aid to them. At first he refused; but after receiving a strong letter from Mr. Tayler, he consented, and sent off 200 Europeans in a steamer. The next day, we heard that the steamer had stuck in the river, and that the general had sent orders to recall them. Of course, as Englishmen, we were in a great rage at this—leaving a number of poor fellows to their fate; so off — and I started, at twelve at night, on Tuesday last, to ascertain the facts. When we got to Dinapore, we found that he had been made to change his mind, and had consented to send another steamer off, which luckily happened just to have come in. In this started 150 Europeans and 50 Sikhs; we

altogether made up a force of 400 men. As Wake is one of the greatest friends I have got, I determined to give him a hand if I could, and so volunteered with seven other fellows, five of whom are dead. Well, I was up all that Tuesday night, and, at daylight on Wednesday, off we started. We reached the nearest point to Arrah, on the banks of the Ganges, at about two o'clock, and were beginning to get dinner ready (so as to start with a good feed, as we could not expect to get anything on the road), when we heard our advanced guard firing. We immediately all fell in, and went off to the place, about two miles off, where we found them drawn up before a large nullah (river) about 200 yards wide, firing away at some sepoys on the other side. The sepoys, when they saw us coming, ran away; and then, as we had got so far, we thought we might as well go on. After a delay of two or three hours in getting boats and crossing over, it was nearly seven o'clock before we got well off. From the villagers we heard that Wake was still all right and holding out, which was confirmed by the firing we heard, in the direction of Arrah, of big guns. It was a beautiful moonlight night, the road a very bad one (a kutchra one in the rains), and wooded country on both sides of us. We did not see a soul on the road, though we passed through several villages, until we came to within five miles of Arrah, where we saw a party of horsemen ahead of us, who galloped off before we got within shot. About eleven o'clock the moon went down; however, as we did not expect that the mutineers would face us, we still went on, till we came to within about a mile of the fortified house. We were passing a thick black mango-grove to our right, when all of a sudden, without any warning, the whole place was lit up by a tremendous volley poured into us at about thirty or forty yards' distance. It is impossible to say how many men fired into us: some say 500; some, 1,500. The next thing I remember was finding myself alone, lying in the middle of the road, with a crack on the head, and my hat gone. I suppose I must have been stunned for a minute. When I recovered, there were several men lying by me, but not a living soul could I see. There were lots to hear, though; for the bullets from right to left were whistling over my head. I was just thinking where our men could be, and which way I should run, when I saw the sepoys advancing out of the grove

with their bayonets, within a dozen yards of me. I fired my double-barrel right and left into them, and then ran towards our men, whom I could hear shouting on the left, under a tremendous fire from both parties. Everything now was in a most dreadful confusion; the men were all scattered in groups of fifties and twenties, firing in every direction, and, I fear, killing each other. At last a Captain Jones, a very fine fellow—our commander was never seen again after the first volley—got hold of a bugler, and got the men together in a sort of hollow place, a half-filled pond. There we all lay down in a square. I was in the middle, with the doctor, helping him to tie up the wounds of the poor fellows, and bringing them water. The firing was all this time going on. The enemy could see us, as we were all dressed in white; while they were nearly naked, and behind trees and walls. However, the men fired about at random. At last the poor doctor was knocked over, badly wounded. It was dreadful to hear the poor wounded fellows asking for help.

"I shall never forget that night as long as I live. We held a consultation, and determined to retreat, as the enemy was at least 3,000 or 4,000 strong, and had, besides, several cannon. Directly morning dawned, we formed order and began our retreat. The whole distance, sixteen miles, we walked under a most tremendous fire; the ditches, the jungles, the houses, and, in fact, every place of cover along the road, was lined with sepoys. We kept up a fire as we went along; but what could we do? We could see no enemy, only puffs of smoke. We tried to charge, but there was nobody to charge: on all sides they fired into us, and were scattered all over the country, in groups of tens and twenties. Dozens of poor fellows were knocked over within a yard of me on my right and left; but, thank God! I escaped in the most wonderful way. The last five miles of the road I carried a poor wounded fellow, who begged me not to leave him; and though we had had nothing to eat for more than twenty-four hours, and I had had no sleep for two nights, I never felt so strong in my life, and I stepped out with the man as if he had been a feather, though he was as big as myself. Poor fellow! the men, most of them more or less wounded, were leaving him behind; and the cowardly sepoys, who never came within 200 yards of us, were running up to murder him. I got the poor fellow safe over the nullah; I swam

out and got a boat, put him in, and went over with a lot of others. The poor fellow thanked me with tears in his eyes. At the crossing of the nullah we lost a great many men; they threw away their muskets to pull the boats and to swim over, and were shot down like sheep.

"I never before knew the horrors of war; and what I have gone through, I hope, will make a lasting impression on my mind, and make me think more of God, and His great goodness to me. I am sure God spared me because He knew I was not fit to die; and I pray God that He will prepare me, for we can truly say, we know not what a day may bring forth. I had several extraordinary escapes; one bullet went between my legs as I was walking, and broke a man's leg in front of me; another bullet hit me on the back of the head, knocking me down, but hardly breaking the skin. Everything here is quiet as yet, but people are in a great panic. I cannot say that I am. Out of the 400 fine fellows that started for Arrah, nearly 200 were killed; and of the remainder, I do not think more than 50 to 80 were not wounded; out of seven volunteers, five were knocked over, four killed, and one wounded. This has been the most disastrous affair that has happened out here. I hope, however, we may soon get some more troops from Calcutta, and get back our name. I cry to think of the way we were beaten, and of the number of poor fellows who were killed. I will send this letter at once; for, perhaps, the dâk may be stopped, and I may not be able to send a letter in a day or two. I will write again if I can, but do not be alarmed if I do not. The crack on my head hardly broke the skin, and is nothing; the bullet hit me sideways, and the folds of cloth I had round my hat saved me.

"August 1st.—I have just heard that about thirty men came in last night who got separated from us in the dark, and wandered to the river, where they got off in a native boat. The authentic return I have just seen; 150 men killed, the rest wounded, except about fifty men, who escaped untouched. I suppose such a disastrous affair was never heard of before in India—most dreadful mismanagement throughout. Of course we did not relieve poor Wake and his garrison."

The following narrative is contained in a letter from Mr. William M'Donell, magistrate of Chuprah, who writes from that

place, on the 3rd of September, as follows:—

"On the evening of the 25th of July, or rather in the middle of the night, a note came from Dinapore, saying that the troops were very shaky, but that her majesty's 10th, and the guns, were ready for them. Next morning we got an official despatch from the brigade-office, telling us that all three native corps had gone off in a westerly direction (this was at 11 A.M.), and that the 10th were after them. About half-an-hour afterwards, we got a note from Daunt at Peiprah (an indigo factory, about fifty miles north of Chuprah), that the 12th irregular cavalry had, on the 23rd, mutinied, murdered all their officers and their wives, and had then set off towards Sewan. He said he wrote on the chance of our not having heard it, though it had occurred three days before. On hearing this, we held a cabinet council, and determined that Chuprah was no longer safe. So Martin, Richardson and his wife, set off at once; the doctor and his wife followed soon afterwards; and about two o'clock I was thinking of following them, when I remembered that all my prisoners, owing to cholera having broken out in the gaol, were in the opium godown. Now, as they could easily escape from there, I went and saw them all into the gaol. By this time everybody knew that the officials had bolted; and people seemed so alarmed, that I determined on staying a little longer. About 6 P.M. I got a note from Mr. Garston, asking if I was in the station, as he heard I was alone. He was returning from the district. I said I was, but I advised him to bolt; but, instead of that, he very pluckily came in and stayed with me. We rode round the town, to show the people we had not bolted, and then came home, and went to bed without undressing; and we had our horses saddled, standing all night at the door. About twelve o'clock that night I got a pencil note, not signed, but written, I saw, by Lynch, saying he had escaped from Sewan with his life, and that the cavalry were there. Early in the morning I got a second note, saying that the troopers had come down the Chuprah-road, searching for Lynch and M'Donell, the deputy opium agent. About 10 A.M. I heard that the Dinapore mutineers had reached Arrah; and while in cutcherry, about three o'clock, a man on a pony came galloping in, saying that the cavalry were

within ten miles of Chuprah. I finished the case I was about, and I fear rather hastily, and then rode home; and Garston and I agreed it was time to bolt; so we made a start for it, going through the town, and to the police-station, and also to the missionaries, to tell them we were going, and advising them to do the same. We rode down to Doreegunge, about eight miles, and saw the smoke of a steamer in the distance, so we waited until she came near. We found Martin, and Richardson, and the doctor on board, with a party of the 5th fusiliers, and some thirteen Sikhs. On hearing that the cavalry were on their way here, and that the rebels were at Arrah, all agreed it would be folly to go back with only thirteen Sikhs, so we got a party of the 5th fusiliers to go with us, and we started off in boats for Chuprah, which we reached at 11 P.M. We went to the collector's, and all assisted in packing treasure, and we started back for the steamer with some 90,000 rupees. If they had left me fifty men I would have stopped at Chuprah, but not with only thirteen Sikhs. As the men could not be spared, back we went; and, on the way, we heard that the Arrah people, consisting of my friend Wake, officiating magistrate; Little-dale, the judge; Coombes, the collector; Boyle, railway engineer, and some six or seven others, were besieged in a small bungalow by the three Dinapore corps. On reaching Dinapore, I found that 200 men of the 37th (Queen's), and fifty Sikhs, had been sent to relieve Arrah; but, unfortunately the steamer grounded, through treachery, I believe, on the part of the pilot. There the steamer lay, quite close to Dinapore, and the authorities doing nothing. I went to the general, and urged upon him, that unless relieved soon, the garrison must all be murdered; and that if he would send a fresh detachment in boats, I could show them another way to Arrah, where the steamer was sure not to stick, and that I knew the road from the ghaut to Arrah. He said, if I would really go with them, he would send some of the 10th. Just then, another steamer came in: it was agreed that all the passengers were to be landed and put into the church, and that 500 of the 10th were to start at three next morning. While making arrangements, I got a note from Tayler, the commissioner, saying, he had heard I had volunteered to show the way, but that he could not spare

me; so I at once got into a native cart at ten at night, and drove to Patna, which I reached about half-past 11 P.M. I saw Tayler, and begged him to let me go, as, humanly speaking, it was the only way of saving the little garrison. At last he said, that if the general really laid any stress on my going he would not object. He ordered his carriage, and I drove down with him and young Mangles to Dinapore. It was then nearly two o'clock. We woke up the general, and he told Tayler that it was very important that I should go, as I knew the road, and he would trust to me. By this time it was the hour fixed to start. We drove down to the steamer, and, to my disgust, found all the passengers still on board. There was great delay and squabbling; and, at 5 A.M., the general said, 'Oh, if there is not room in the steamer, never mind; the flat takes only 150 men.' So all the others went back. This caused endless confusion. Colonel Fenwick would not go with only 150 of his men; and ordered Captain Dunbar to take the command. At last we got off, and came up to the other steamer—got her flat, containing 200 of the 37th and 50 Sikhs; steamed on, and landed at Buhira Ghaut about 2 P.M. Of the disasters that befel us on that occasion you must have seen a long account, but I will give a brief sketch. About two miles from the ghaut there is a river, after crossing which you get on the public road to Arrah from Chuprah, a distance of about twelve miles. As I was not sure I should find boats, as we were in an enemy's country, I offered to go on with a small party of Sikhs, and secure the boats, while the Europeans had their dinner on the bank. So off Ingilby, of the 7th native infantry (who volunteered, and commanded the Sikhs), Garston and myself, with twenty men, went to the river side. On reaching the river's bank, we found all the boats drawn up on the other side, and about 200 men assembled. They had four or five of those long native guns stuck on three sticks, and began blazing at us; whereupon two of our party said they would return for aid. We told them particularly not to disturb the Europeans, but to ask for the rest of the Sikhs, fifty being sufficient to dislodge the enemy. We immediately set to work, and blazed across the river, and soon set all the fellows running. Two Sikhs then swam across, and got a small boat, in which Ingilby, Garston and myself, with

ten Sikhs, crossed. We were hardly across, when, to our disgust, we saw all the Europeans coming up at the double-quick—these fools having reported that we were surrounded; so the 10th came away without getting their dinners, or even a drop of grog, and had brought nothing with them. We all crossed, and by the time we were in marching order it was four o'clock. Ingilby, Garston, myself, and twenty Sikhs, formed the vanguard; then came 150 of the 10th; then 50 Sikhs; and, lastly, 200 of the 37th (Queen's.) We marched four miles all right, when we saw some ten or twelve horsemen in front. However, they galloped off before any damage could be done to them. The men got very footsore, and we halted at the Kainnugger bridge, about three miles from Arrah, at 10 p.m.; and here we ought to have remained for the night; but, after stopping about half-an-hour, on we marched. I fancy poor Dunbar thought it useless halting, considering his men had nothing with them, and that it would be better to push on. What possessed us I know not: up to this time we had made the Sikhs throw out skirmishers; but now we marched in a body—Ingilby and Dunbar, who was talking to me, with about twenty Sikhs, some 200 yards in advance of the main body. After marching to within half a mile of Arrah, we arrived at a thick tope of trees, and the moonlight hardly showed through; in fact, the moon was setting. Well, we had got nearly through, when, like a flash of lightning all along our left side, came one blaze of musketry, and then another, and a third volley. By the light the firing made we could see we were surrounded. We got behind the trees, and tried to return the fire; Dunbar, myself, three of the 10th, and two Sikhs, got together and blazed away. Foolishly, I had given my powder-flask and bullets, &c., to a native to carry: of course, he disappeared; and, after firing off two barrels, I was powerless—not for long, however; for the next minute we got a volley into us. I fancy our firing showed where we were. Poor Dunbar fell against me, mortally wounded. I was covered with his blood. A ball hit me in the thigh, cutting it slightly only; at the same time, two of the 10th and one Sikh also fell. I immediately picked up an Enfield rifle belonging to the 10th man, and his cartridge-box, and began blazing away. I then shouted

out that Dunbar was killed; that the first officer in command had best give orders. This brought another volley on us, and another man dropped. We then tried to join the main body, and ran from tree to tree: the Europeans seeing us coming (all Sikhs nearly), thought we were the enemy, and fired into us, killing several; in fact, I fear as many of our men were killed by their own comrades as by the enemy. In the night, it was difficult to tell friend from foe; and, after having to dodge round a tree, you, in the dark, could hardly tell where your friends were, and where your foes. At last, most of us got together, and beat a retreat towards a tank, near which was a high bank: we got to the other side of this bank, and lay there all night, the enemy firing into us every five minutes; and, foolishly, our men would return the shot. It was bad policy—it showed where we were; and we could not afford to throw away a single shot. Young Anderson, a very nice young fellow of the 22nd native infantry (a volunteer), was standing up behind the hedge; he was shot through the head, and jumped up like a buck—of course, killed on the spot. About daylight we counted our forces, and found that we were about 350 strong—100 missing; afterwards, about 50 of these joined us, being concealed in a village close by; the rest were killed. We could see the enemy, and tried to make out their number. There were the three Dinapore regiments drawn up in order, with bugles sounding the advance; about 2,000 men, with long matchlocks, belonging to, and headed by, Baboo Koer Sing; and more than 1,000 of the disbanded sepoy, who had managed to join him; and a large rabble armed with swords, spears, &c.—not formidable in themselves, but who were occupied in killing all the wounded, beating them like dogs. We tried to make the men charge; but they were tired, wet, and a great number wounded. My leg, from lying on the damp ground, and from the bleeding, was so stiff I could hardly walk; however, I soon warmed up. Unfortunately, the doctor was one of the first wounded; and, though he did his best, poor fellow! he could not bind up the wounds properly. There were no dhoolies, so that the wounded had to march with the rest. Then commenced our retreat. They completely surrounded us, and fired into us all the way back—twelve miles—men dropping every

minute; and some, badly wounded, were, I fear, left behind and killed by the enemy. By the time we reached the boats, a hundred must have been killed—and then commenced the massacre. The boats, which we expected to have been taken away, were all there; so, with a cheer, we all rushed to them, when, to our dismay, we found they had fastened them securely to the shore, and had dragged them up out of the water, placing, about 300 yards off, a small cannon, with which they blazed into us. (I forgot to say, that all the way they pitched into us with four small cannons.) The men, to escape the shot, got into the boats; and, of course, as long as they were in them, it was impossible to push the boats off: so a number of men stripped themselves, throwing away their rifles and everything, and some of them managed to reach the other side. The wounded men, of course, could not swim, and some of us knew that we could never reach the shore; so out we jumped, and managed to get two of the boats off: well, then we were at the mercy of the wind and stream, for not an oar had they left us. The wind was favourable, and we started off splendidly, when, lo and behold! we gradually turned towards the shore; and then I saw they had tied our rudder, so as to bring us in again. I told the men to cut it; but no one moved, and so I got a knife and climbed up to the rudder. It was one of those country boats, covered in except just at the stern. The moment they saw what I was at, they blazed at me; but God in His mercy preserved me. Two bullets went through my hat, but I was not touched. The rope was cut, and we were saved; but about half-way across we struck on a sand-bank, and then the bullets poured in so fast, that nearly every one jumped overboard. One young officer jumped over as he was, with his sword on, and down he went; another (Ingilby) was shot in the head, and either drowned or killed. I threw my pistol overboard; my coat I had thrown away early in the morning, as, being a coloured one, it made me conspicuous among the soldiers, who were all in white. How I swam on shore I know not, as it is not an accomplishment I am a 'dab' at. When once on shore, we were pretty safe; and 250 out of 450 reached the steamer alive. Since then, nearly 100 more, from wounds, exposure, &c., have died; making a loss of 300 out of 450—the

worst that has befallen us yet; nearly every one was wounded."

A lady, apparently one of the fugitives from Arrah, dates her letter, of the 28th July, from "Boat off Dinapore," and describes the events in which she had participated thus:—

"You cannot imagine the horrors we and many others have had to go through, but, thank God! we have still been spared, though we had a very hard run for our lives, and are now refugees without home or anything but a few clothes, which we had just time to secure. Our house is burnt to the ground, and everything in and about it. On the evening of the 25th we got a private note from the brigade-major in Dinapore, under official cover, to say the troops were expected to mutiny every moment, and to make our arrangements accordingly. We had been so often frightened before that we did not think so much of it, but got a boat anchored close to our house, and as many of the ferry-boats on our side of the river as we could. Went to bed, and about four o'clock in the morning heard that sepoys were gathering on the opposite banks; did not believe it, but got up and went to the boat; saw nothing unusual ourselves, so went home again. Presently another alarm came, and we all coolly walked to the river side, and, to our dismay, saw something very like sepoys opposite. Before we knew where we were, they had, many of them, got into boats and were firing at us, and we saw the houses and works beginning to smoke.

"We got into our boat half dead with fright, and made off as fast as strength could get us. It was awful; ten minutes more and we could not have escaped; or if our villagers had proved treacherous nothing could have saved us, as we should, if we had got from the banks, have been fired at on passing, as they have done but too effectually in many places. We took the river for Dinapore, and all the way down we saw nothing but fires—bungalows, villages, anything the villains could fire.

"We got near Dinapore, and found all the sepoy lines in a blaze; and after about six hours we got the news that 3,000 of the native troops had mutinied, and made direct for Knockar on their way up to Arrah, and the stations up country. It is dreadful that nothing was done to prevent these three regiments from marching off with arms and ammunition, and that the 10th were not even allowed to fight them.

"All Dinapore is perfectly incensed about it; and what should we be? We have had a good deal of news since of their doings; it is perfectly awful. We met a steamer going up with five companies to our rescue: they got but half-way, and had to come back for want of water. — might have sent some detachments on elephants; but it is too late by a couple of days. The first thing they fired on the east side was our new house; and then they crossed and destroyed everything, and every building belonging to the works: but, before that, they butchered a poor inspector, his wife and daughter; and burnt, robbed, and committed all imaginable atrocities: my poor pet buggy horse was killed in his stable, and every living thing destroyed. They fired the coal heap, and wantonly threw the sheep, &c., on the top. Out of all the houses and immense works and materials collected for the bridge, not a stick is left. What the sepoys could not take or destroy, the villagers plundered.

"We had no time to get the treasury from Knockar-house; and it, of course, is gone. It is a sad thing—the work of years; and property to an enormous extent. All our European inspectors escaped, mostly without a single thing save what was on their backs; except one, a fine young man: poor fellow! he was butchered—was too late to get into the boats. It is feared many between us and Arrah are gone. As for Arrah, we are in great alarm about it. Some of the up-country engineers and civil servants fled to a small bungalow they had fortified. Arrah we know is in full possession of the rebels. The prisoners are let loose, and are destroying everything. But the fate of the poor people we cannot tell. There has been no news since five in the evening of the 26th. If they stand out some six or eight days, against 2,000 or 3,000 sepoys, it will be by a miracle. It is a sad thing that human lives and property should be left in charge of such generals. Our own unfortunate position prevents my dwelling upon that of many others. But there have been dreadful accounts from up-country; official reports of engineers' deaths—wives and all, in some cases. The country is in a fearful state all over. Patna is expected to go next. What we shall do, or where to go to, I know not; the steamers going down are too full of up-country refugees to leave room for us. Dinapore is so full, that for any amount we could not get a

single room. We have no help but to live as we have been doing, which is, I must confess, very wretched—five of us in an open boat, with a thatched bamboo chopper over part of it to keep off the sun. I need not tell you we are very harassed both in body and mind; but if God gives us health we shall yet be very thankful."

The conduct of Major-general Lloyd in this unfortunate affair, appears to have been early brought to the notice of the government of Bengal; which felt itself called upon to relieve that officer from the responsibility of further command of the division: and the following paragraph in the "official narrative of events within the presidency, up to the 8th of August," as transmitted by the governor-general in council to the Court of Directors on that date, expresses very plainly the feeling that prevailed upon the subject at the seat of government:—

"Major-general Lloyd has been removed from his command (at Dinapore) for his culpable neglect, and the commander-in-chief has been requested to institute the usual preliminary inquiry preparatory to his trial by court-martial."*

It is only fair, that an officer whose professional reputation had been so rudely assailed by private individuals, and whose conduct had been stigmatised by his superiors (*previous to inquiry*) as involving "culpable neglect," should be allowed to vindicate himself in the same pages that record his alleged misconduct. The following passages from a letter addressed by the major-general to his brother, the Rev. A. F. Lloyd, dated "Dinapore, September 3rd," may enable a disinterested reader to form a just estimate of the whole affair:—

"On the 25th of July, 1857, I was far from well; and on that day the crisis occurred here; and, in consequence, my manner may not have been so firm and decided as it used to be. But my acts will, I think, bear the strictest scrutiny; and although from my gouty feet I am physically unequal to active bodily exertion, I assert, that in judgment and intellect I am fully equal, if not superior, to any of the younger commanders at Dinapore. The way I have been vilified and abused by the press, forces me thus to assert my own qualifications in a style which might otherwise be thought unbecoming. However, the shortcomings of some of those who had previously talked much, but, when the time came, did little, have been visited

* Parl. Papers (No. 4), 1857.

very hardly on me; and the difficult nature of the country, and the peculiar one of the locality of the Dinapore cantonment at this season, as well as the small available European force at Dinapore, have been quite lost sight of by those who have seen fit to publish their dogmatical opinions as to what should or should not have been done on the occasion of the late outbreak here. Dinapore cantonment is a narrow strip of land, bounded on the north by the river Ganges, and on the south by a deep muddy nullah and bay; and it is swampy ground—rice-fields—in short, a perfect sea in the rains; and this description answers for the nature of the country from Dinapore to Koelwar Ghant on the Soane—with this difference, that the swamp extends in a great degree to the Ganges and Soane, westward of Dinapore, and renders the country quite impassable for artillery in the rainy season, and very difficult for the passage of infantry. I must here remark, that from the 27th of June to the 25th of July, there was nearly incessant rain, but the river Ganges had not risen to within eight or ten feet of its highest level.

"On the 4th of June (without any apparent cause, except it be that the 17th regiment of native infantry at Azimgurh* had deserted with their arms, after shooting the interpreter and quartermaster only, though they had all the rest of the officers in their power, escorting them in safety to Ghazepore), it seems to have been determined by the military authorities at Benares† to disarm the 37th regiment of native infantry; and ultimately this was attempted, but in such a manner, that though the men of the 37th had lodged their arms in their bells of arms, they were fired on with grape and musketry. The Sikhs present, and most of the 13th irregular cavalry, joined them in resisting this attack; and as it was everywhere stigmatised as 'Feringhee ka Daghab,' it caused the instant revolt of the 6th regiment, at Allahabad, on the 6th of July,‡ and revolt at Fyzabad on the 8th of June.§ It created the greatest excitement in the three native regiments here on the 7th of June; and had it not been for the great exertions of the European officers, the men of those three regiments would have deserted with their arms that very night. Subordination was, however, preserved, and the men were reassured and remained faithful. I had landed 150 men of the Madras fusiliers,

with the intention of disarming the native corps; but, as I was quite aware the men might have decamped with their arms in spite of anything I could do, I was glad to be able to defer such a measure for the present, particularly as it was of great importance to push on European troops towards the north-west, as the only means of saving our officers and men still holding out in those parts.

"Contemplating the possibility of a mutiny of the native troops here, and feeling sure that in such an event they would make off towards Arrah, it was with satisfaction I heard that measures had been adopted by the magistrate of Shahabad (of which district Arrah is the Sudder station), to have all the boats on the Soane river collected on the western bank; and in case of an outbreak of the native corps at Dinapore, they were to be destroyed or sunk, so as to hinder the crossing of the river. When the time came, the man entrusted with the duty—a Mr. Pahlen, of the railway works—thought only of his own safety, and fled with his iron boats, without an attempt to carry out the plan.

"As I was quite aware of the likelihood of a mutiny of the native troops here, and feeling sure that in such an event they would make off towards Arrah, I, in June last, issued written instructions relative to the course to be pursued by the European troops acting against them, and this was fully made known to Colonel Fenwick, the commanding officer of the 10th, who was then the senior. Subsequently Colonel Huyshe, of the artillery, joined (senior to Colonel Fenwick, though I was not aware of this till after the 25th of July), and I took an early opportunity to inquire from him whether he had made himself acquainted with the orders given, and arrangements for meeting an outbreak—whether Lieutenant Smothel had told him all those things; and I received a reply in the affirmative. The colonel said the bullocks could be harnessed in a moment, as they were close by, in the tan-yard, or old magazine-yard, and he would not be caught napping—an expression I particularly remarked.

"On the 24th of July I made up my mind, as a precautionary measure, to have all the percussion-caps in the native magazines at the western extremity of the cantonments removed, so as to render the sepoys almost harmless, without subjecting them to the degradation of being deprived

* See vol. i., p. 207.

† See vol. i., p. 224.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 393.

of their arms, with the contingent probability that, so disgraced, they would take to flight and disorganise the whole country around, thereby causing serious embarrassment to government when all its force was urgently needed above. The same consideration having influenced me since June last, no overt acts of a mutinous nature had been evinced by the native corps, and they were all performing their duties as usual. The whole of the caps were safely removed on the morning of the 25th, leaving the men with only fifteen each, which they would have been allowed to retain, had not the 7th and 8th regiments shown a sudden spirit of mutinous feeling when they saw the carts with the caps pass along the road, at which time the 40th regiment made a decided demonstration in favour of the cause of order and discipline, being ready to oppose any attempt to rescue the caps. This demonstration decided me on depriving the men of their remaining caps. But wishing to avoid driving them to oppose or to disperse, and thinking that the men would feel it quite madness to attempt resistance with only fifteen caps per man, I, finding no commanding officer of a native corps had any doubt of the success of the measure, gave orders for their collection in the lines by the native officers quietly by 1 P.M., it being then near 10 A.M. It was thought they would be given up without any demur. The two commanding officers of European troops urged me to at once effect the disarming the native troops on their mutinous demonstration in the morning. Colonel Fenwick was then, and had often been before (when there was no apparent reason, unless that it not being done involved less duty, particularly night duty, on his men), urged to disarm the three native corps; and could it have been attempted with a probability of success, it would have been with the certainty of rendering the three corps useless, and a burden to the state. But, otherwise, the result would have been the same as occurred in the afternoon; the sepoys would have fled with their arms on the first approach of the guns and Europeans; and this dispersion I was most anxious, if possible, to avoid. About 2.30 P.M., the 7th and 8th regiments rose in open mutiny: the 40th did not at first join; but being fired upon by men of the 10th from the roof of the European hospital, they went off and joined the mutineers. I had no horse in cantonments. My stable was two miles distant;

and being unable at the time to walk far or much, I thought I should be most useful on board the steamer with guns and riflemen, in which I proceeded along the rear of the native lines, the river being only 200 yards, or thereabouts, distant from the right of the advancing column of guns and Europeans, and expecting to get some shots at the sepoys on shore, or escaping by the river. Considering that I had fully previously given instructions for the attack and pursuit of the sepoys by the guns and her majesty's 10th, under their respective commanding officers, I left it to them to follow up the mutineers by land. On embarking, I sent Captain Turner, deputy junior-adjutant-general, to order the guns to advance, as I thought they were long in setting off; and I sent Lieutenant Needham, deputy assistant-quartermaster-general, to order the commanding officer of the detachment of her majesty's 37th foot to place himself under Colonel Fenwick's orders.

"The guns and European troops advanced; and, debouching from barrack squares, found that the mutineers were making off towards the western end of cantonments. The guns opened at a long range on the whole mass, who were then near the native infantry magazines. Her majesty's 10th and 37th commenced firing on them also at impossible distances, and the whole of the three regiments fled *en masse*; even the sick in the hospitals went. Instead of flying along the Arrah-road, as was expected, and where, as it ran along the bank of the river, the steamer would have been on their flank and done good service, they went off across the swampy fields, behind the magazines, across the nullah, which was full of water, and beyond which Colonel Fenwick and Huyshe found it impracticable to follow them. By this time, the steamer (which had run down and sunk some boats loaded with fugitives from the rear of the lines, who had been observed and fired on by the Europeans on the roof of the hospital, and who had returned the fire from their boats, showing they were sepoys) having arrived at the vacant lines opposite the magazines and hospital, the state of the case was reported to me by Captain Turner, who had arrived there. Colonel Fenwick, also, was in the vacant lines; and as I saw the mutineers in the distance, on the other side of the swamp and nullah, in an apparently unapproachable position, I turned towards the Arrah-road; and, believing I saw

some sepoy beyond Daudpore, on that road, within range from the steamer, I went on some distance, but found only unarmed people, apparently villagers, on whom, of course, I did not fire.

"The mutineers' position being on the road from Patna, *via* Phoolwaree, towards Arrah, with the road to Gyah open in their rear, it was uncertain which road they would take; or they might have taken all three, and visited the three places. Two guns and a detachment were therefore sent off, to protect Patna, leaving only 500 men and four guns at Dinapore. The high-road to Arrah was quite impassable for guns, and even the infantry would have had a difficult and slow march along it, to reach the Koelwar Ghaut, on the Soane.

"It is, perhaps, to be regretted, that some were not sent that night or next morning; but only a small party, in comparison to the strength of the mutineers, could have been detached: no guns could have gone; and as the mutineers avoided the road, and kept to the fields, where they could scarcely have been effectively followed by a small party of Europeans, they would probably not have been of much use. However, as the readiest means of following them, to prevent their crossing the Soane, I next day, the 26th, sent off some riflemen in a steamer up that river, expecting that, at this season, there would have been sufficient water; but, unfortunately, the steamer could not get up high enough, and returned in the evening without having effected anything. Troops being required at Buxar, this steamer was started off next day with some of her majesty's 5th fusiliers, arrived from Calcutta; and in the evening, when the other steamer arrived from Patna, she was at once sent off with another detachment, to be landed at a point nine miles from Arrah—to march thence and bring away the civilians, &c., there besieged. This was a much nearer way than their marching by the Arrah-road; the boats at the Koelwar Ghaut, moreover, having been all removed by the rebels after crossing to the other side of the river. Most unfortunately, this steamer ran on to a sand-bank, and could not be got off. No other steamer was available all day. In the evening, a steamer and flat arrived from Allahabad, full of passengers for Calcutta. It was at once arranged that they should be all landed, and accommodated in the church, and that the steamer should, with her own flat, embark the head-quarters and 250 men

of the 10th, and some Sikhs—go and pick up the other flat at the sand-bank, and tow up both flats, with a detachment (altogether consisting of about 500 men), to the ghaut on the Ganges, nearest to Arrah. This was all arranged, and Colonel Fenwick was to command. Early next morning the commander of the steamer changed his mind, and said he could not tow two flats; consequently, the party had to be reduced by 100 men; and therefore Colonel Fenwick remained, and sent Captain Dunbar in command—an officer of whose unfitness for such a command I suspect Colonel Fenwick may have been unaware; at any rate, he subsequently proved himself to be utterly so. He marched his men fasting (though he might have given them a meal, as he had taken three days' provisions with the detachment) towards Arrah—pushed on, against advice and common sense, in the dark—got his column into an ambuscade, from which they were suddenly fired upon by the rebels, and were thrown into utter panic, broke, and scattered. Captain Dunbar was killed, and about thirty killed and wounded. Next morning, the panic seems still to have prevailed. The men were weak and hungry; and, unfortunately, a retreat was resolved on, though they were but half a mile from Arrah. The mutineers, of course, grew very bold on seeing the Europeans retreat, and followed them keenly. The retreat was hurried, and seems to have more resembled a disorderly flight than a retreat: the men were scarcely under any control, and, consequently, their loss was fearfully great. They rushed into the boats, threw away arms and accoutrements into the water, and leaving seven officers and about 145 men dead, the remainder, with many of them wounded, re-embarked on the steamer, and, returned with the disastrous news to Dinapore. This unfortunate result was entirely caused by the mismanagement of poor Captain Dunbar. Well handled, and marching by daylight, the force was ample; and no blame can, with any justice, be attached to me for the disastrous consequences. There were now not enough men to send another party, and it seemed to be unavoidable to leave the little beleaguered garrison at Arrah to its unhappy fate. Fortunately, Major Vincent Eyre, with three guns and 145 Europeans, had marched from Buxar towards Arrah, of his own accord, to co-operate with the attack he expected us to make. Hearing of the disaster to our party, he bravely

pushed on—managed admirably his small force, defeated and dispersed the rebels with considerable loss to them, and relieved the hard-pressed little garrison of the fortified house at Arrah. Major Eyre's position was at one time critical; but the 145 Europeans of the 5th fusiliers with him charged the rebels, some three thousand strong, with such gallantry and determination, that they fled, scattered before them like a flock of sheep, and abandoned the field."

Writing again to his brother, from Dinapore, on the 17th of September, the major-general says—"You will see that my endeavour to preserve the three native regiments here in a serviceable state, has resulted in my being severely punished by the loss of my divisional command. As to disarming the regiments here, it was an impossibility. I had no cavalry; and as all proceedings were narrowly watched by the sepoys, the appearance of any movement of guns or European troops towards them, would have been the signal for the flight of the sepoys with their arms. I could never have disarmed them, from the nature of the locality. If you were at one end of a lane, and I was a mile away up the said lane, and could run faster than you, it would be self-evident that you could never catch me; and such was the position here."

It is not necessary to dwell further upon this unpleasant subject: but whatever may have been the military blunder that permitted the desertion of the native regiments from Dinapore on the 25th of July, it can hardly be consistent with justice, that the catastrophe of the night of the 29th, near Arrah, should be charged against an officer who was not within twenty-five miles of the scene of disaster, and had no possible means of directing the movements of the troops engaged. It should also be remembered, that the veteran soldier had served his country for more than half a century, and that he wore upon his breast an honourable distinction awarded for merit and valour in the field.

In the state of European society in India at this time, frenzied outbursts of popular feeling had ceased to surprise those who were enabled, by distance, to look calmly upon events as they progressed. We read, therefore, in the *Calcutta Phoenix*, that a "scene of a most painful character took place at Dinapore, on the arrival there of the remnant of the forces sent against Arrah. As soon as the news of the repulse,

and consequent loss, spread among the women of the 10th regiment, they rushed in a body to the bungalow of General Lloyd, and would have literally torn him to pieces, had he not succeeded in barricading his bungalow."

The paragraph is recorded as a fact, without comment or attempt at explanation: not so, however, the following occurrence, which met with the most severe reproof from the general commanding the forces in Bengal:—

On the night of the 16th of August, an affray, the original cause of which is not known, took place between some men of her majesty's 10th regiment and a party of sepoys of the 40th regiment, about a hundred in number, who had refused to desert with their comrades on the 25th ultimo, and remained true to their allegiance. These men were encamped at the back of the north quarters of the grand square, near the river, and were peaceably and inoffensively occupied, when, about nine o'clock in the evening, a sudden attack was made upon them by the men of the 10th European regiment; and, in the *mêlée* that ensued, one subahdar, two naiks, and one sepoy were killed, and eleven sepoys and one woman were wounded. The alarm occasioned by repeated discharges of musketry was prodigious; and when the authorities reached the scene of disturbance, the sight presented to them was most distressing. Wounded sepoys lay around, dead and dying: one poor fellow had five bayonet thrusts; one shot in the centre of the forehead; another with his mouth and jaws shattered by a shot—and all screaming with alarm, or groaning in their agonies. The occurrence was immediately reported to the commander-in-chief and to General Outram, and a court of inquiry assembled to investigate the affair; but no conclusion could be arrived at, other than that suggested by a probability that the attack was perpetrated by the soldiers of the 10th regiment, in revenge for the slaughter of their comrades at Arrah. Such, at any rate, appears to have been the opinion of General Outram; who, in a letter of the 19th of August, stated, that the military duties of the town could not safely be entrusted to the 10th regiment, under the lax discipline and exasperated feelings it displayed towards natives of all classes just at that time.*

* Parl. Blue Book (No. 4), p. 153.

An attempt was made to give the affair a more distinct character, in consequence of the recent murder of a canteen sergeant belonging to one of the European regiments; and the Calcutta *Englishman*, in giving currency to the report, expressed its regret that such serious quarrels should arise; but, at the same time, intimated, as a matter of course, that "in the present temper of the European soldiers, it cannot be expected that they will allow their comrades to be assassinated without taking prompt vengeance."*

Upon his expulsion from Arrah, Koer Sing, with the greater portion of his discomfited army, retreated with all possible expedition to a fortified residence belonging to him at Jugdespore, about twelve miles distant; whither Major Eyre—who, on the 8th of the month, had been reinforced by the arrival of 200 men of the 10th regiment—immediately followed him; and, on the 12th, the rebel force was again signally defeated and dispersed, after sustaining severe losses in their useless resistance and eventual flight. The result was communicated by Major Eyre, in the following despatches:—

"Koer Sing's Palace, Jugdespore, Aug. 12.

"Sir,—I have the pleasure to report the total rout of the rebel force under Koer Sing this day, by the force under my command, as per margin.† The enemy mustered, as far as can be ascertained, about 3,000 strong, of whom 1,500 were sepoys. The action commenced at the village of Dulloor, at 11 A.M., where a strong position had been taken up, and intrenchments raised. Here they made a resolute stand for about an hour, when they fell back upon the dense and formidable jungle, which extends from thence about a mile and a-half to Jugdespore. A running fight was kept up to that place, which we entered in triumph at one o'clock, and immediately occupied Koer Sing's residence, where much promiscuous property fell into our hands. Two guns were captured in the action.

"Koer Sing has fled to the south, and I hear that his army is dispersing; and I trust the blow now struck may be the means of effectually destroying his influ-

ence. In my next I will give full details of my march from Arrah, and of the services performed by my force, making special mention of those who distinguished themselves. A return of killed and wounded shall be sent with my next despatch: our loss was trifling; that of the enemy severe.

"I have, &c.—V. EYRE, Major."

On the following day (the 13th) Major Eyre transmitted a detailed account of his operations, in which he says—"Leaving Arrah at 2 P.M. on the 11th, I marched eight miles, and encamped for the night on the banks of the Gagur Nuddee. Resuming the route next morning at 6.30, I proceeded without difficulty as far as Rumneon, where, for two miles, the road passed over rice-fields, and was in many places under water. Had heavy rains fallen, this road must have been impassable for guns.

"At 9 A.M. I halted to refresh the troops and animals for an hour; at 10.30, we detected parties of the enemy's horse and foot occupying the village of Tola Narainpore, evidently with the view of disputing our passage of the river immediately beyond it. I forthwith pushed forward skirmishing parties in that direction. This elicited a sharp fire, which was maintained on both sides with great spirit. As our main body approached nearer, I advanced two guns to the front, and opened a fire of grape on a party of the enemy, whose heads I could just discern in ambush about 300 yards distant. This caused them to rise in some confusion, discovering large masses who had been lying in close concealment. The men of her majesty's 10th now became so impatient to be led to the charge, that, instead of continuing the fire from the guns, as I had intended, I yielded to them the honour of putting the enemy to flight. With loud and continued shouts they advanced and charged, led on in the most noble manner by Captain Patterson, impetuously driving all before them. The sepoys fell back on the large village of Dullaur, across the river, where intrenchments had been thrown up. There they endeavoured to make a stand; but were driven out by the joint efforts of the gallant 10th and 5th fusiliers—the latter under Captains L'Estrange and Scott.

"Thence our route lay through a dense and difficult jungle, for one mile and a-half, to Jugdespore, throughout which a running fight was maintained, during which two guns were captured. Jugdespore was but

* *Englishman*, August 24th, 1857.

† In round numbers:—Artillery, three light field guns—36 men; her majesty's 5th—140 men; her majesty's 10th—190 men; Rattray's Sikhs—140 men; yeomanry—16 men: total, 522.

feebly defended; and at 1 P.M. we took possession of Koer Sing's noted stronghold, wherein we found large stores of grain, ammunition, and other materials of war. Koer Sing has fled to the Jutowra jungle, south of this, with a few followers; and the villagers around Jugdespore are sending in tokens of their submission."

Among the individuals recommended by Major Eyre to the favourable notice of the commander-in-chief and of government, for their gallantry and zealous exertions, he specially distinguishes the defender of Arrah in the following paragraph:—

"Mr. A. C. Wake, of the Bengal civil service, at the head of his Arrah Sikhs, nobly sustained the reputation already acquired by his heroic defence of the fortified house at Arrah, against overwhelming odds."

Following up his success at Jugdespore, Major Eyre, on the 14th, again writes of victory:—"Early this morning, I detached a company of her majesty's 5th fusiliers and a hundred Sikhs, with the yeomanry volunteers (the whole under Captain L'Estrange), to Jutowra, where Koer Sing has a residence. The party has just returned with information that the place is empty, though Koer Sing had recently been there. He is reported to have gone towards Rhotas: the sepoys have dispersed entirely, and the country hereabouts is quite quiet."

"I am destroying the town, and preparing to blow up the palace and principal buildings around it. To-day I partially destroyed a new Hindoo temple, on which Koer Sing had recently lavished large sums. I did this because it is known that the Brahmins have instigated him to rebellion."

"Captain L'Estrange reports having destroyed Koer Sing's new palace at Jutowra; and Lieutenant Jackson, with the volunteers, on their way back to the camp, set fire to the residences of Oomar Sing and Dhyal Sing, the two brothers of Koer Sing."

The reports from Major Eyre were transmitted to government by desire of the commander-in-chief, with the following letter, the last paragraph of which is significant, as expressing Sir Colin's view of the policy in which the war in India should be carried on:—

"The Deputy Adjutant-general to the Secretary to the Government of India.

"Head-quarters, Calcutta, Aug. 21st.

"I have the honour, by desire of the commander-in-chief, to forward, for submission to government, letters in original,

relative to the military operations that have been carried on by Major V. Eyre against the mutineers, under Koer Sing, in the Arrah district.

"I am to request you will be good enough to inform the governor-general in council, that his excellency highly approves of the judgment evinced by Major Eyre throughout these movements, and of the gallantry and perseverance of the officers and men under his command, in bringing them to a triumphant conclusion.

"Sir Colin, I am to add, recommends to the favourable notice of his lordship, the persons brought prominently forward in these despatches; but regrets to have to disapprove of the destruction of the Hindoo temple at Jugdespore by Major Eyre, under a mistaken view of the duties of a commander at the present crisis.—I have, &c.,

"W. MAYHEW, Major."

Upon the removal of General Lloyd, pending the court of inquiry, the command of the Dinapore division of the presidency was given to General Sir James Outram, who had then recently returned from the Persian expedition. Under the guidance of that energetic officer, no time was lost in gathering together the different European detachments as they arrived up country from Calcutta, and in organising a movable column for the purpose, as we have seen, of relieving Lucknow.

The effect of the mutiny by the native regiments at Dinapore, was both calamitous and wide-spreading; since whole districts, containing, together, a population of from twenty-five to thirty millions of people, were agitated by it. At Segowlia (a small military station not far from the Nepaul frontier), it will be remembered, that the officer in charge (Major Holmes) had taken upon himself to proclaim military law*—a step which did not meet with the approval of the government; and the unfortunate officer, who had only a party of the 12th regiment of native irregular cavalry to depend upon for carrying out his mandates, very soon ceased to exercise the authority he had assumed. On the 24th of July, these troops broke into open mutiny; and, while the major and his wife were riding out, four of the troopers rode up to the vehicle, and beheaded both of them as they sat. This being the signal, the rest of the regiment threw off all restraint. They first proceeded to murder the Europeans at the

* See vol. i., p. 450.

station ; and among them, the surgeon, his wife and children, fell a sacrifice to their indiscriminating vengeance : they then plundered the treasury and the houses of the Europeans, and finally departed with their booty towards Azimgurh. This terrible and sudden atrocity caused great alarm ; for the 12th irregulars were looked upon as a corps whose known gallantry was a pledge of its fidelity. As soon as the events at Dinapore became known at the seat of government, the authorities did not

hesitate to adopt the views of the unfortunate Major Holmes ; and, on the 30th of July, martial law was declared, not only in the northern districts of Sarun, Tirhoot, and Chumparum, but also in the districts of Patna, Behar, and Shahabad, south of the Ganges. No further mutinies took place in those places during August ; but the various stations were kept in a constant state of excitement and apprehension, by the threatened irruption of insurgents from other quarters.

CHAPTER V.

POPULAR FEELING IN THE MADRAS AND BOMBAY PRESIDENCIES; ENMITY OF THE MOHAMMEDAN TROOPS; DISQUIETUDE AT MADRAS; OUTBREAK OF 27TH BOMBAY REGIMENT AT KOLAPORE; MURDER OF THE OFFICERS; NARRATIVE OF THE OUTRAGE; DEFEAT AND PUNISHMENT OF THE REBELS; CONSPIRACY DETECTED AT POONAH AND SATTARA; THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS; OUTBREAK AT HYDERABAD AND AHMEDABAD; DISTURBANCES AT MEAN MEER, JELPIGOREE, GUZERAT, AND PUNDERPORE; BARODA ABANDONED; THE SAUGOR AND NERBUDDA PROVINCES; INDICATIONS OF MISCHIEF AT JUBBULPORE; ARREST OF THE GOND RAJAH AND HIS SON; PRAYER TO DEEVA; EXECUTION OF TRAITORS; DESERTION OF THE 52ND REGIMENT N. I.; LETTER TO COLONEL JAMIESON, AND REPLY; AFFAIR AT KONEE; MURDER OF LIEUTENANT MACGREGOR; DEFEAT OF MUTINEERS AT KUTTUNGEE; PERILOUS STATE OF THE COUNTRY; AFFAIR WITH BHEELS IN KANDEISH; A PLOT DETECTED AND PUNISHED IN BOMBAY; RECAPTURE OF NIMBHAIRA; ALARM AND PUNISHMENT AT KURRACHEE; THE KOTAH MURDERS; MUTINY AT DEOGHUR; PANIC AT MYNEE TAL; STATE OF CENTRAL INDIA; ASSAM; CAPTURE OF THE RAJAH OF DEBROGHUR; TROOPS DISARMED AT BERHAMPORE; GHOORKA VICTORY AT MUNDOREE; STATE OF REVOLTED DISTRICTS IN DECEMBER, 1857.

BEFORE proceeding to describe those minor operations in the field which filled up the interval of time between the commencement of the outbreak in the North-West Provinces of Bengal and the close of the year 1857, it will be proper to refer to the state of feeling that prevailed during that period among the native armies and populations of the sister presidencies of Madras and Bombay ; and to glance briefly at certain facts, of themselves calculated to provoke disaffection in those quarters ; although, happily, the practical effects of such feeling were neither permanent or serious.

The insubordinate conduct of the men belonging to the 8th regiment of Madras light cavalry, when under orders for service in Bengal, and the disgraceful consequences that resulted to the whole corps, have already been noticed. The affair, ostensibly a mere question of pay, was at the time productive of no serious inconvenience, except to the delinquents themselves ; but the Madras government was not long in discovering, that the spirit which prompted the irregular conduct of the 8th light cavalry,

was not confined to that regiment only. The mistaken economy, or parsimony, by which the rates of pay and pension to the native troops were materially reduced, had aroused a feeling of discontent (among the cavalry especially, which consisted chiefly of Mohammedans) that might have required but little effort to nurse into open mutiny—an event rendered still more probable through the excitement kept up amongst the troops by means of the exaggerated reports that were disseminated, from time to time, respecting the state of affairs in the northern districts of the presidency. Another source of disquietude was also furnished by the policy of the supreme government, in regard to questions of succession among the families of the native princes ; one instance of which, about this time, became a tangible point, around which native discontent might find nourishment, although the grievance was not sufficiently popularised to ripen into mischievous results. The cause for disquietude was, curiously enough, almost identical with that which had given offence, and produced such

fearful consequences, in Oude, at Bithoor, and at Delhi; namely, the refusal of the Company's government to recognise, in the heir of a deceased native prince, any inherent right to ascend the vacant throne, however justly he might be entitled to do so by the laws of his country. Upon the recent death of the nawab of the Carnatic, his uncle Azim Jah, who had been theretofore recognised by the Court of Directors, in their official documents, as the legal heir and representative of the nawab, claimed the musnud by right of succession; but his pretensions were, for some state cause or other, ignored, or else disregarded, by the Company—a circumstance that occasioned much ill-feeling among the people, who had been accustomed to look up to the family as that of their natural rulers. Moreover, the troopers of the Madras army were chiefly collected from among the Mohammedan population of the Carnatic; and it was not unnatural that a race so haughty, and impatient of interference with their traditions and usages, as to maintain an habitual state of discontent and rooted hatred to its European conquerors, should seize upon such an occurrence as a national wrong, and, like the mutineers of Bengal, or the insurgents of Oude, should sympathise with the living descendant of their ancient sovereigns, and desire to avenge his wrongs. Fortunately, however, for the welfare of this portion of India, there had not yet been any successful attempt to import into the *reasonable* grievances of the Madras army, any question respecting the "conversion" of the troops; no alarm had been excited among them on the score of "greased cartridges;" nor was there any unpardonable insult to be avenged, as in the case of the 3rd light cavalry at Meerut;* and thus the direct personal stimulus was wanting that might otherwise have fanned the smouldering fires of discontent into the lurid flames of rebellion.

There was also a solid ground upon which, at this crisis, the government of Madras could reasonably depend for security, owing to the curious but undeniable fact, that between the Mohammedans on the Ganges and in Oude, and the Mohammedans of the Carnatic and the Deccan, there was not the slightest sympathy or union of interests. Among each, there are yet extant, traditions of old and bitter animosities; and the severe struggle which the Mussulmans of Southern

India maintained against their ultimate conqueror Aurungzebe, is still a theme which fills their bosoms with inextinguishable hatred towards the descendants of the conquerors by whom their fathers were enslaved. This feeling extends towards the inhabitants of all the northern provinces, whom the Mohammedans of the south look upon as their natural and hereditary enemies, and hate with an intensity only exceeded by that with which both hate their Christian rulers.

As regards this long-cherished animosity of races, it has long been notorious that it pervades all classes, and that the sepoys of Madras would rejoice in any opportunity that might bring them into collision with those of Bengal. Where regiments of both presidencies have been quartered at the same station, it has been with the utmost difficulty that conflicts have been prevented; while frequent encounters in the bazaars, in which the combatants on either side have been armed with *lattees* (heavy iron-shod sticks), and in which the Bengal sepoys have invariably been overcome, afford the plainest evidence of the feelings of determined hostility with which the rival services regard each other.

Another reason for such confidence existed in the fact, that the larger, and by far the worthiest, portion of the Madras army consisted of a race utterly antagonistic in spirit and habits to the Mohammedan element with which it was associated, but did not mingle. It was therefore a check upon that most excitable branch of the service, and was able of itself to have crushed any effort at revolt, had such been offered. The Hindoo bulk of the native army of Madras, unencumbered by the trammels of caste, and unswerving in its loyalty, would have been alone sufficient to extinguish the torch of rebellion upon its own territory; though, possibly, in the struggle to do so, deeds might have been perpetrated that would have brought indescribable misery among the European and native Christian inhabitants.

Notwithstanding these various grounds for reliance on the fidelity of the native troops of the two presidencies, there were sufficient indications of an uneasy feeling among the civil populations of both to excite apprehension, and to demand incessant vigilance on the part of the authorities. In the latter end of August, the defiant tone of the Mussulman inhabitants of

* See vol. i., p. 55.

Madras became obtrusively prominent in their intercourse with the European residents; and it was deemed prudent to increase the precautionary measures against a possible danger, by placing a volunteer corps on active duty. The impression entertained by the Europeans at this time, may be collected from the following letter of a member of the Company's civil service, dated "Madras, August 25th;" in which the writer says:—

"Daily, on entering my office, I have about twenty prostrate foreheads before me; and yet those, and others, are people who would murder you if they had a chance, and who cheat to the utmost whenever they can. Lately, the Mussulmans in Madras have been very insolent in their looks and behaviour, and are evidently intending mischief. We are only in Madras, soldiers and all, about 2,000 Europeans against 3,000,000 natives. If the sepoys are faithful, it will not matter; but if not, Heaven help us. The fort has been provisioned for 10,000 men for six months, and sixty sailors have just been landed from the various ships. We have one ship of war opposite Triplicane, ready to batter it in pieces if the 35,000 rebels there show fight.

"The Mohurrun, which commenced on Monday, lasts ten days; and it is in the latter part of that period that a disturbance is expected. The volunteer guard will be on duty from Thursday till Tuesday. Fortunately for the inhabitants, our company is near our house (St. Thome); for, it being five miles from the fort, in case we had to retreat we should get intercepted, and be cut to pieces if the rebels fought well. We are forty strong, and shall relieve guard night and day without intermission, during our period of duty."

The much-dreaded festival of the Mohurrun passed over without the expected explosion; and, after a short time, Madras settled down to its accustomed repose.

Bombay, like its sister presidency Madras, was, as yet, affected but slightly by the storms that troubled Bengal and the North-West. The Bombay troops, though not altogether equal in fidelity to those of Madras, nevertheless had passed through the fiery ordeal very creditably until a later period, when they fell into a lamentable error. The chief native community of Bombay consisted of the Parsees, who embraced nearly all the wealth and influence of the place. These were, to a man, firm

and consistent adherents of the government, and greatly strengthened the hands of Lord Elphinstone in his efforts to preserve order in the capital; which, consequently, was undisturbed by any rebel demonstration; although the adjacent districts, north, south, and east, demanded extreme vigilance. The first point at which the mutinous spirit showed itself in this direction was at Kolapore—a station situated about 180 miles south from Bombay; where, on the night of the 1st of August, the men of the 27th Bombay native infantry, without alleging any grievance, or affording the slightest hint of their purpose, broke into open mutiny, murdered several of their officers, plundered the treasury of 45,000 rupees, and deserted. The *emeute* commenced about ten o'clock in the evening; and the mutineers proceeded in parties to the respective bungalows of their European officers. The native adjutant, and two havildars of the regiment, who were loyal men, had fortunately, although at the last moment, become aware of their intentions; and, by anticipating the murderous ruffians in their visit, gave some of the intended victims opportunity to escape. Exasperated by their disappointment, they commenced firing into the bungalow of Major Rolland, who was in command of the regiment. The family of this officer had been warned of the approaching danger by the mother of the native adjutant, and had escaped; but the unfortunate woman to whom they were indebted for safety, paid with her life for her devotion to the Europeans. Upon learning what was going forward, Captain M'Culloch hastened down to the lines, and managed to gather around him about fifty men; but they would neither fire upon their mutinous comrades, nor obey his orders to rally round their officers. He was therefore compelled to leave them, that he might seek the safety of others. In the meantime, Lieutenant Norris, and Ensigns Heathfield and Stubbs,* had ran towards the quarter-guard, calling upon the men to follow them; but they were answered with threats and imprecations. The unfortunate gentlemen, who were ignorant of the locality, or bewildered by the darkness of the night, wandered for some distance in search of an asylum, and reached a village called Solunkore before daylight on the morning of the 3rd of

* Lieutenant Norris was quite a young man; and Ensigns Stubbs and Heathfield mere boys.

August; and there, while taking some food, they were murdered by men of their own regiment, who had happened to cross their track. The villagers afterwards threw their bodies into the Doodgunga river, where they were subsequently found, and recovered for the rites of sepulture.

Many of the incidents connected with this unexpected outbreak are detailed in the following extracts from letters of the surviving officers, and from reports forwarded to the seat of government. The first selected is from a narrative of facts, chiefly referring to the murdered officers—gathered from the confessions of mutineers, and the testimony of native eye-witnesses; which, as they agree in the main with that of the surviving officers of the regiment, may probably be depended on as correct. This document says—"On the night of the 31st of July, no apprehensions were entertained by the English at Kolapore; no precautions had been taken, nor any place of rendezvous or refuge appointed, in case of a mutiny amongst the sepoys. The night was very dark and rainy. After mess, about ten o'clock, the officers separated as usual; some went to have a game at billiards, some went home to bed. The major (commanding the regiment) was at home; the doctor and his wife were spending the evening at the house of a friend; Norris and De Lancey, who lived together, had gone home to bed; Stubbs (who was adjutant of the regiment) was one of the party at billiards; his younger brother had gone home to bed. The alarm was given in the billiard-room that there was a row in the lines. Stubbs' servant brought him his cloak, and ran to awake his brother. Stubbs went off to the lines, where he was soon joined by the major. They tried to get the faithful portion of the regiment together; and a few did follow them, but could not be got to act in quelling the mutiny, saving the arms and treasure, or the lives of the officers, more than by giving them warning to fly. Heathfield and Jones rushed into Norris's house, and begged him and De Lancey to 'Get up quick,' saying, 'The men have mutinied, and are coming up here.' Norris, at first, would not get up, nor take alarm; but, on De Lancey's request, he got up and loaded his gun—De Lancey loaded his pistols, and they went towards the lines, having previously been joined by Ensign Stubbs. On

the way they met Captain M'Culloch, who advised them to go back to their house and wait till he sent them word what to do. They returned, and sat in the verandah listening to the firing and noise in the lines. Suddenly, an havildar rushed in and said, 'For God's sake fly for your lives! There are 150 men coming to murder the officers; they are now in the mess!' Norris's house was within two doors of the mess. The four officers rushed through the house, Norris calling out, 'Come along, I know a capital place.' De Lancey, however, stepped into his room for his sword; and this saved his life; for when he attempted to follow his comrades, he could not see them for the darkness, but found himself alone with his sepoy servant, who urged him to 'run, or he had no chance of escape, as the men were mad with drink, and longing to kill the Europeans.' He made for the residency, not without fear that the irregulars quartered there might also be in mutiny, and fire on him; but he resolved to risk it, having no other place in view, and afraid to call out to his friends, lest he should attract the attention of the mutineers, who were plundering the major's house next-door. At the residency he found the major and his wife; and, by degrees, with much danger and difficulty, all the Europeans of the place assembled there. Mrs. Rolland, and the other ladies and children, had escaped as by miracle—for the most part in their night-dresses; and their first act on reaching the residency, was to kneel down and thank God for their safety.

"De Lancey volunteered to assist Captain Schneider that night, and went off to command seventy men of his irregulars, protecting the magazine, &c. Stubbs, M'Culloch, and other officers, got together about a hundred men, and took up a position at the mess-house; but the men were seized with a panic, fired off their guns, and rushed into the mess, and would not be persuaded to come out again.

"The night of the 1st of August came, and no tidings of the missing officers. Four thousand pounds had been taken from the treasury, lots of ammunition carried off, and the shops and the major's house looted. A poor old woman, mother of the havildar who had given the alarm at Major Rolland's house and at Norris's, was found murdered in her house. The mutineers had gone; but all was confusion and distrust in the camp—not a native could be

trusted, and there were no European soldiers. When De Lancey found that Norris was not in the fort or the neighbourhood, nor to be heard of anywhere, he volunteered to scour the country for the three missing officers, if he might have five mounted men; but he was told 'they could not be spared—all were wanted to protect the station.'

"Meanwhile, the three poor fellows were seen by some Coolies on the Phonda-road. They carried their boots over their shoulders, and walked barefoot, because of the deep mud and difficult roads. They are supposed to have left the main road on the 2nd of August, and turned to the left till they reached the village of Solunkore before daylight on the 3rd. Here the villagers gave them some food: they were eating it in a temple, when a party of fifty mutineers came up; a woman told them there were three Kaffirs in the temple, and they instantly surrounded it and shot the two unarmed men (Stubbs and Heathfield.) Norris ran a little distance, and turned to fire upon the murderers; but before he could draw the trigger, three bullets entered his left side. The mutineers passed on; and the villagers, fearing to be blamed, threw the bodies into the Doodgunga river. The bodies of Norris and Heathfield have since been found and buried.

"Thus fell three promising young men, the eldest not twenty-four years old, beloved and regretted by all who knew them. His commanding officer says of Norris, that 'he was a great favourite with his brother officers; and, from his abilities, would have been a great ornament to the service which has lost him. Nothing but their innate fiendish disposition could have induced the mutineers to murder him, as he was always conciliatory and kind towards the men.'

"One of his brother officers speaks even more warmly of him, as 'the best fellow in the regiment, and my greatest friend, with whom I have always lived, and never had a quarrel, or anything like a quarrel. Poor, dear old Norris, whom I loved as a brother! I miss him more and more every day; he was so good and kind, and never hurt a living thing. I am so unhappy I scarcely know what to do. How I feel for his poor parents! It seems almost like a dream; and I can scarcely imagine I shall never see him again.'

"Heathfield is also spoken of as an officer of great promise for the very short

time he had been in the service, and was much esteemed and loved in the regiment; as was poor Stubbs, 'whose sweetness of temper won him all hearts.'

"It has been said, that these three 'missed their way to the residency;' but there is no reason to suppose they intended to go there, or thought they would be more secure at Colonel Maughan's than elsewhere. In fact, they knew nothing of its being a partial mutiny. All the troops at Kolapore were native to a man; and the three officers probably thought to escape, as Norris's words would imply, to some of their old haunts in the ghauts, where they were frequently in the habit of hunting and shooting.

"Since their deaths, Kolapore has been, like many other places in India, a scene of terrible and bloody retribution. Up to the 6th of September, daily courts-martial were sitting. Six men have been blown from guns, eleven shot, and many more hung; the gaol was still full, and the work going on. Such are the scenes of 'evil' from which these three young souls have been suddenly and awfully 'taken.' May God have mercy on their murderers! 'Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord.'"

The second extract is from a letter dated "Kolapore, 12th of August," which proceeds thus:—

"On the 1st instant, at half-past 8 p.m., Stubbs, Dr. Broughton, young Heathfield, Keith, and myself, after having dined at mess, were playing a game at billiards, when suddenly there was a violent knocking at the door, and in rushed the native adjutant and a drill havildar; and as soon as they had recovered their breath, said there was a mutiny in the lines. We were all so excited, and everything in such a state of confusion, that I cannot well describe the events of that night; only I know that, at three o'clock in the morning, the major, Captain M'Culloch, Stubbs, De Lancey, Keith, and myself, took refuge, with 100 men, in a little school-house near the local corps' lines, after having walked the whole night through pelting rain, among ploughed fields, dressed in white mess jackets and trowsers. At five o'clock in the morning we marched down with our 100 men, all the local corps (about 600 men), and 50 of the Southern Mahratta irregular horse, to our regiment's lines, where we expected the mutineers would defend themselves. We found, however, that about 210 men had gone away, taking

their arms and lots of ammunition with them. The rest of the regiment either quietly joined us in the lines, or had run away and hidden themselves in the fields and villages about, when they heard the firing. The mutineers had broken into the treasure-chests, and taken away about 60,000 rupees. They had torn the regimental colours, and trampled them in the mud; they had taken away or destroyed all the arms and ammunition in stores; they had killed one old woman, the native adjutant's mother, and she had only saved his children by hiding them under the beds; they had riddled the major's door and windows with balls, and broken open several of his boxes. The resident got information that the mutineers had shut themselves up in a strong square building, with loop-holed walls, and flanking towers at the corners, near the city of Kolapore. He accordingly marched all the local corps out to attack them. When they got there, however, they were greeted by a volley from inside, fired through the loop-holes in the wall. He then marched the locals straight home. This was on the morning of the 2nd inst.; from that until the 10th, nothing was done. Our men were kept under arms all day, ready to turn out the instant the bugle sounded; and small parties of cavalry were continually scouring the country, to get intelligence of where the mutineers went, and to warn the head-men of villages not to give them food or shelter. On the 6th, a party who had been out at a village about sixteen miles off, said that the people of the village had told them that the three unfortunate young officers who had not been heard of since the night of the row, had been caught and murdered here by the mutineers, and they showed the marks of bullets and the blood on the floor of a native temple. They said their bodies had been thrown into a river that runs near the place; but they have not been found. On the 3rd, a man named Hossein Ali came in from the city to our lines, where he went to our subahdar-major's house, and said to him, 'All the Englishmen in India are to be killed. Get the regiment to rise; the city will join you. We will kill the officers, and then the Mussulman religion will again be the religion of India.' He also said that a native officer of the S. M. horse would join them with 100 men. The old subahdar put food before him, and said he would go and call some other native officers, and they would consult about how it

was to be done. He got two other faithful officers into the house, and told them quietly to keep the man engaged in conversation, and not let him go, while he himself ran up and told the major. He then went back, and brought the man quietly up through the lines to the major's house. He was then tied and sent into the city, where he was put in irons in the gaol. The next day four of our officers and I went into the city and tried him by court-martial, after having his irons knocked off. He was then taken out, and shot by six of the S. M. horse in the gaol-yard. The man who commanded the firing party was the native officer who, he said, was to join them with 100 men. In the meantime, about ninety men had come in from the fields and villages about, who said they had only run out there on hearing the firing, to place their wives and children in safety, not knowing where else to go to; several men had also been brought in by the village authorities, and by the parties of irregulars who were riding about the country. They were all sent into the city of Kolapore, where they were put into the gaol in chains, and guarded by the rajah and his people. At night we all sleep at Maughan's, where there is a very strong guard kept; we have also outlying pickets of horse and foot in every direction, and a regular chain of videttes all round camp.

"We telegraphed, on the night of the 1st, to Sattara about the row; Kerr, the adjutant of the S. M. irregulars, started on the morning of the 2nd, and was with us, bringing fifty men, on the morning of the 3rd; having ridden with his men the eighty miles in twenty-four hours, and swam their horses over three very deep and rapid rivers, which in the rains are considered quite impassable. He is a very fine fellow, and a capital specimen of an irregular horseman; the other day he rode 240 miles without stopping. Immediately the row occurred, Maughan telegraphed to Bombay for Europeans; but they have not been by any means so expeditious as Kerr; for, though a steamer was dispatched from Bombay immediately, with 200 of the 2nd Europeans to Wargoten, and they arrived there on the 3rd, they have not been able to get here yet on account of the nullahs and rivers being all so flooded. A troop of horse artillery, too, started from Poonah, but they have not arrived here yet for the same reasons. It was at one time feared the whole country had risen: we might have been cut to pieces for all they

knew; so that they are very much to blame for not having made more haste. Up to the 10th, the mutineers had met with no check; on that day, however, we had the great pleasure of doing for a few of them. On the night of the 9th, Maughan received intelligence that twenty-five of the mutineers, with muskets in their hands, were coming back in the Kolapore direction, from a place sixteen miles out on the Wargoten-road, where they had all gone to at first. Kerr mounted at twelve o'clock at night, and set off through the rain, with thirty men, to meet them. He rode out about twelve miles, and caught three men; but he heard from them, that at half-past eleven o'clock the main body of them had marched in and occupied the same position which Maughan had tried to take before. Kerr left his men round about the place, to see that they did not go away during the night, and rode in to ask Maughan to give him some more men, and let him try to take the place. Accordingly, at ten o'clock next morning, Captain M'Culloch and I set off with thirty volunteers from our regiment, and Kerr brought out thirty more of his irregulars. When we got there, we found the fellows inside all ready to receive us, with two sentries walking up and down between the wall and the lake, and a man at each of the corner towers, who occasionally fired when any of us came too near. We passed behind the small native huts which line the road, to a little stone temple, which they had not been able to occupy, as it is solid stone, without a door or window; in fact it is a monument, not a temple. From here we could see what sort of a place it was. It was a double square, hollow in the middle, like a farm square in Scotland, with a low, tiled shed inside the wall, for putting horses and cattle in. The four doors were of tremendously hard wood, into which a musket-ball did not penetrate half an inch; and the main gate was of the same wood, bound and studded with iron, and about eight or ten inches thick. The two men who were walking up and down the place in front of the little door which looks out towards the lake, began firing at us behind the monument, and our fellows returned shot for shot; but as neither of them hit, it was not of much use, only keeping our fellows from going nearer. M'Culloch then told me to take some of our men and some of the S. M. horse round the lake, to a place near the rajah's house, where there were trees and bushes

which afforded capital cover for skirmishers. From here we soon dislodged the two men, one of whom was hit on the thigh, and they ran inside the square. We could not, however, get very near the square, as there was a small temple at that corner, which they had occupied, and from the little windows of which they fired at us. We remained here behind the trees for a long time, answering their shots, on the chance of some balls going in through the loopholes or windows. After a while a fellow came riding round the lake, to say that all our officers had come down with twenty more men, and that they had got two of the rajah's guns, and were going to blow the main gate open, and storm the place. I was told accordingly to collect my men, and prevent any of the fellows escaping by the road towards our camp. I therefore formed my men up, and made the horsemen mount, so as to be ready to chase them if they came past. I was here concealed by a bank from the fort. The fellows with M'Culloch then began blazing away with the guns at the main gate, and I expected every minute to hear that they had broken the gate open and gone in, and was feeling very much disgusted at not being able to go and see the fun; but I felt obliged to stay and watch that road. The guns soon stopped firing, and I supposed all was over. However, I was soon undeceived; for Kerr and the major came round to the lake where I was, and said they were going to bring the guns there, to see if they could open a way in. They said that the guns could only be brought to fire obliquely, and therefore did not have much effect on the gate, for the balls merely went through, leaving only a small round hole in the wood, but not breaking it so as to make it passable. The guns were then placed in a new position, and we began firing at the little side door. Two balls went through it, but only left little round holes, as in the other door; and no two balls hit on the same spot; for the balls were too small for the guns, and the fellows could not aim them at all—so much so, that several balls went right over the place, and did considerable damage in the city. While here, a native gunner was killed from the walls, and one shot cut my trowsers on the left leg, but did not touch the skin. The major, seeing that the guns were not likely to open a way into the place, said to me, 'Will you take a party and turn those fellows out who are firing from the windows of that little temple?' I got twelve

men to volunteer, and we rushed up the road with a shout, six of the men firing their muskets at the windows while running up, the remaining six reserving their fire for closer quarters. I ran up to one window and fired a cavalry carbine, which I had used all day, right into the place, and one of the men did so to the other. We found, however, that the fellows who had been there had left it, and gone into the main building. From round the outside of this temple, we could keep them almost entirely from firing from that side of the building; for if one shot was fired from a loophole, it was immediately answered by a dozen; and we were so near, that a lot of our balls always went in. The biggest gun was here hauled up close to the little door. Here two natives were killed; one was hit on the mouth, and the other had the whole of the back part of his head carried away. A ball grazed the toe of my left boot. Here seven men came out of the place and gave themselves up; one of them had his eye shot out, and another his left arm broken by a cannon-ball. All of a sudden we heard a whole lot of shots inside the place, and were told that Kerr had got in on the opposite side by a gate, which they had neglected to guard. We should have battered the little door down in a few more shots, but we could not get it opened at once, as they had piled a lot of big stones inside against it. We rushed at a little door which had not been tried before, because it was so difficult to get at. We found it not so strong as the others; and broke it in with a pickaxe and the butts of our muskets. Several men were shot down inside, and three prisoners taken. It is very extraordinary that not one of our men was touched, though they fired a lot of shots at us. Six men took refuge in a little room in the middle of the square. This was made of immense blocks of solid stone. There was a small door looking towards the main gate, up to which there were four stone steps; there was a little stone verandah round it, to which the window looked, and which was raised about four feet above the ground. The window was about two feet above the verandah, and about four feet square. The door and wooden shutter of the window were shut. We sent a lot of balls through the door and windows; and they returned them, each on the chance of hitting the other. They hit one colour-havildar on the head, and one sepoy on the knee. After a while, finding we could not

turn them out without having some of our men hurt (which we did not wish), we resolved to smoke them out, and accordingly threw a lot of lighted grass before the door. One man, seeing that they were to be burnt out, sprang out of the little window like a tiger, with his loaded musket in his hand, evidently resolved to sell his life dearly. I happened to be standing close to the window, and shot him through the head with the carbine I had used all day. He fell all in a heap, stone dead. On finding the smoke insufferable, they came out one by one, only to be shot down by our men immediately. The square was now an awful sight, with eight or ten dead bodies lying on the ground, the whole place streaming with blood, and the prisoners, some of them, frightfully wounded."

A singular feature connected with the mutiny of this regiment, was presented by the fact, that no non-commissioned officer took part with the mutineers; and also that only one-third of the regiment were Hindostani men, the rest being Mahrattas, and Deccan and Concan Hindoos: the virus of sedition had affected all in this instance, without distinction of country.

Another account, after describing the first movement of the mutinous soldiers, and the flight of the three officers, announces the punishment of the rebels, and the entire suppression of revolt in that quarter of the presidency of Bombay. The writer says—"The mutineers, by threats of instant death, made numbers join them. They plundered the tumbrel of 45,000 rupees, and the stores of several thousand rounds of cartridges. While all this was going on the Kolapore infantry came up, and surrounded the mess-house. Some fifty of the 27th, still faithful, were there also, with the whole of the officers of the regiment. They had not been there for any length of time before a sentry took the alarm, or purposely discharged his piece, and every one followed his example. The 27th ran like cowards into the mess-room, out of which they refused to stir. Nothing then remained but to retire on Bowrah, a place distant about half a mile. The fifty men of the 27th occupied the school-house as a picket, and lit a fire, round which they coolly seated themselves; while Major Rolland and Captain M'Culloch performed sentry-go—a duty which their own men declined! Next morning, 120 of the Kolapore infantry, and a party of the irregulars, went to dislodge 150 of

the mutineers from a position they held in the city. On arrival, it was found to be impracticable without guns. The position was surrounded by high, strong loopholed walls, and, without scaling-ladders, nothing could be attempted. After returning some shots our force retired without accident, save a slight graze which Colonel Maughan received from a fall.

"Late in the day a new character appeared on the scene. The whole of the European community had retired to the residency, the compound of which was strongly guarded by the Kolapore infantry. They were all anxious and praying for succour, and they had not long to wait for it. Covered with skirmishers, they soon saw a small body of men riding to their relief. As they advanced nearer, they described the leader to be Lieutenant Kerr, of the Southern Mahratta horse; and he had fifty sabres at his back. His welcome was a warm one. His face, radiant with daring, inspired every breast with confidence; and as they glanced at his swarthy troopers, reeking with their recent ride, they felt that if their gallant leader were only permitted, his horse's hoofs would soon be red with rebel blood. The march of Lieutenant Kerr was wonderful. As soon as the mutiny broke out at Kolapore, a telegraphic message was sent off to Colonel Malcolm at Sattara. When it was received, Lieutenant Kerr was at the engineer stores, in the European guard, putting irons upon a man who had enlisted in the horse with a view of corrupting the allegiance of the troopers. While so engaged, the colonel's orderly galloped up, and gave him a note stating that he required him at his house, and that he was to prepare to march at once with fifty sabres upon Kolapore. In a very short time Lieutenant Kerr and his men were in their saddles. When they started they were loudly and heartily cheered by the men of the 3rd European regiment, who wished them God-speed. The rivers Khonia-warna, Punch-gunga, and the nullahs, were brim-full; the roads fetlock-deep; even the elements seemed to conspire against the little party: yet without a sick horse or man, and all, comparatively speaking, fresh, Lieutenant Kerr did the whole distance (seventy-six miles) in twenty-four hours, and entered Kolapore in the manner we have described. The celerity of this march requires no comment at our hands; it speaks for itself; and we can only

hope that the government will not look over a service which turned the tide of victory against the mutineers.

"On the morning of the 3rd of August, two hours before daybreak, the mutineers left the Ghaum, and took the road to Farala, where they remained until the 6th instant. They then descended into the Concan by a passage near the ghauts.

"Licutenant Kerr offered to attack the rebels before they left Farala, but Colonel Maughan would not permit him. It is the general belief, that had he been allowed to have done so, he would have ridden them down, and sabred them to a man.

"The Mahratta horse were also endeavoured to be tampered with; but the traitor was discovered, tried, and shot forthwith. The rajah of Kolapore, and all the native chiefs in the neighbourhood, have evinced the best of feeling throughout. It is a pity that more promptitude was not displayed by Colonel Maughan. Had he attacked the rebels with the forces at his disposal, he might easily have overcome them. The risk, however, was great; as, in the event of a reverse, the consequences would have been fearful. He had not only his troops to protect, but a number of helpless women and children; and such a responsibility renders even the bravest irresolute. Up to the 9th instant but little seems to have been done beyond strengthening our position. On the evening of that day, twenty-six of the mutineers returned to Kolapore, and shut themselves up in an enclosure close by a tank, in front of what formerly was the quarter-guard of the native regiment in the old camp. This position they managed to strengthen, and there they were attacked. After nine hours' hard fighting, the place was carried at the point of the bayonet. Lieutenant Kerr first received information of the arrival of these men when he was out on picket duty. He instantly went up and surrounded the place with his irregular horsemen. He then left Dr. Broughton in charge, and galloped off to camp to give the news to Major Rolland. This officer immediately went to the lines for volunteers. All volunteered, but only 100 were taken. The rest remained ready in their lines. Lieutenant Kerr led the storming party, and did his duty nobly. He has been thanked in orders for his 'devoted bravery.' Two men were killed in this attack, and some few wounded. Lieutenant Kerr got a smash over the shoulder from

the butt of a musket, but had ample vengeance by shooting his assailant dead, and running another man through with his sword. The storming party first burst in a small door of the enclosure, three feet wide, and then jumped in amongst the mutineers, shooting and bayoneting all they met. They then burst in another door of the inner keep, and killed all they encountered.

"The remainder of the mutineers have been since captured and destroyed—some in the Concan, and others in the districts. Many have been blown away from guns; and such a terrible example has been made as is likely to keep the Southern Mahratta country quiet for years to come. Colonel Le Grand Jacob is at Kolapore, and has assumed the chief command of the field force. The garrison has also been reinforced by two companies of the 2nd European light infantry, two 12-pounder howitzers, mountain train, and the 4th troop of horse artillery. All danger may therefore be said to have passed away.

"The 27th regiment was disarmed on the 18th, and all went off quietly. Indeed it could not be otherwise. The guns were loaded with canister, and laid. The infantry also had loaded. Colonel Jacob, who speaks fluently in Hindostani, addressed the 27th regiment on the subject of the late disgraceful proceedings. He then called Lieutenant Kerr and two of his brave sowars to the front, complimented them on their distinguished conduct in the attack on the enclosure, and explained their deeds to the Europeans, who instantly evinced their approval with three hearty cheers.

"There were seven more arrests on the 18th. Two hundred will die in all. Two courts-martial are at work—one a native, and the other a European. Twenty mutineers were to die on the evening of the 19th. Those concerned in the murders of the officers are to be hanged; the remainder will be disposed of between guns and musketry. Respecting the latter kind of punishment, volunteers from the 27th regiment are to form a strong firing party. The Southern Mahratta horse have earned a reputation for valour and fidelity which some may equal, but none surpass. Without a murmur they have been on duty, night and day, since the 31st, in awful rain, and under no cover. The lives of the European society, and the interests of the state, were entirely in their keeping, and nobly have they done their duty. Naib Russuldar

Sheik Shamoodeen has been recommended for promotion to rissaldar, with the 'Order of British India;' and a gallant little Mahratta sowar, already mentioned, who saved Lieutenant Kerr's life in the attack at the enclosure, is also recommended to be promoted to the rank of kote duffadar, with the 'Order of Merit.'

"There was also a detachment of 250 men of the 27th regiment of native infantry at Rutnagherry. It was deemed expedient to disarm them, and accordingly arrangements were made in Bombay for that purpose. The disarming took place on the 12th instant. The detachment of the 27th yielded up their arms without a murmur, and were quietly marched back to their lines. Major Stuart, of the 86th, with the majority of his troops, then left for Góa *en route* to Dharwar, leaving a detachment of European artillery and sailors for the protection of Rutnagherry."

The Kolapore mutineers were within twenty miles of Goa, when they heard that a steamer, with European troops, had arrived there. They then at once turned their faces towards the interior, and marched up the ghaut again, where they were disposed of in the manner already described.

The following extracts, from a communication dated "Belgaum, August 23rd," record the punishment inflicted upon a portion of the Kolapore mutineers. The narrative is in the form of a diary.

"Aug. 10th.—Intelligence reached us to-day of the slaughter of twenty of the Kolapore mutineers by their own regiment. It appears these men could not get on at all below the ghaut where they at first went. They could get no money and no food, so they came back, and, on being observed, barricaded themselves in a temple. The officers led out the regiment, who broke into the place where the men were, and after a sharp hand-to-hand fight in close quarters, they bayoneted the whole. A few of the men of the regiment had trifling wounds. Now there are but twenty-five of the mutineers loose in the country.

"Aug. 11th.—Two companies of the 2nd European light infantry came in this morning. The poor fellows were drenched to the skin, and had eaten no food for two days. The officers all marched on foot; and they were, for the most part, lame when they arrived. These companies are to go on to Dharwar, on being relieved by two companies of the 86th. We have now 400

available Europeans; and I think, with them and the artillery, we are equal to anything. I attended the court-martial on Sheik Usman—a greater rogue than the moonshee. He appears to have directed his letters in English. I saw the letters written inside in the native character, and also the English translation; to the effect that everything was in readiness here. Several leading men in the town, and in the native regiments (no names), were ripe for the insurrection. The plan for taking the fort, making the commander prisoner, and cutting the throats of all Christians, was also laid out. The English were a parcel of fools, and did not ‘smell the rat.’ There were many other subjects discussed in the epistles, but the pith I have given you; and if these had not been intercepted we should not have been in the land of the living. I afterwards rode up to the camp, and passed the European lines. The soldiers looked much more comfortable with their clean kit, and were enjoying their pipes.

“Aug. 13th.—To-day most exciting events have happened. Two men have been sentenced to death, and are to be blown away from guns to-morrow. The moonshee’s trial came to a close to-day, when he was found guilty. Another man, a Perdassie, was tried by a court-martial at the artillery mess-room. The chief witness was the adjutant of one of the regiments; and his testimony was corroborated by the jemadar. This man, it seems, had come to try and incite the sepoys to insurrection; and the jemadar, an havildar, and naik, directly they were aware of his intentions, informed the adjutant, who accompanied them to the lines, when they hid him in a hut, behind a plain deal door with chinks in it. They then introduced the Perdassie, and the adjutant took down on paper the mutinous conversation. Under such circumstances the rascal was, of course, convicted, and to-morrow will meet the fate he deserves. I shall go and see him executed, as I think that every European ought, by his presence, to show to the natives his concurrence with the justice of the sentence; and I am sure, when we consider for a moment that had those letters of the moonshee not been intercepted we should all have had our throats cut, it takes away all pity that one might otherwise have felt for these wretched men. I read the translations of the moonshee’s letters, three in number. Like those of the

Perdassie, their plans were all arranged as nicely as possible. One was to the moulaie of Poonah, telling him the English were quite in ignorance as to what was going on. He also wrote to Kolapore; and the mutiny in that place is attributed to him. S—— has been indefatigable in getting evidence, and keeping spies. It was entirely through his means that these letters were intercepted. These are indeed exciting times. God grant all may be well yet in Bengal, and that no such insurrection may break out here! S—— had to announce the sentences to the prisoners this evening, and to obtain a confession, which I believe he got with little trouble.

“Aug. 14th.—This day the traitors were blown away from guns at half-past 4 P.M. I mounted my horse, and on the way met the prisoners in a cart, guarded by a detachment of the 64th; presently we arrived at the place of execution. It was on the little course. There was a square formed. On one side were the Mahratta horse; on the other some Shetsandi police from the villages at the bottom; and in the direction in which the guns were pointed were the rabble, and at the other face were the 29th and 15th native infantry and the 2nd Europeans drawn up; and between them and the guns all the ‘Sahib log’ stood. Every one was present, from the general downward. The adjutant-general read the sentence out to the prisoners, and they were then led to the guns; and at a given signal off they went. That rascal of a moonshee was drawing 150 rupees a-month for instructing officers of regiments in Hindostani, at the very time he was plotting their death. I should have mentioned that an havildar and four men of the 29th were given up by the regiment this morning for plotting against government.

“Aug. 16th.—I went down to the lines, and was present at the parade assembled to promote the jemadar, havildar, and naik respectively, on account of the painful discharge of their duties in making known the plot got up by the Perdassie. The general addressed each of them; he also called out the adjutant and complimented him, and informed him he had brought his conduct to the notice of the commander-in-chief. This was a more gratifying spectacle than that of the day before yesterday. The general has been indefatigable; he told me of the number of providential interferences that had occurred for our benefit; but, under

Providence, nothing has tended more to the safety of the Southern Mahratta country than the judicious measures taken by General L——, and the sudden throwing in of detachments of European troops. General L—— has throughout acted promptly, firmly, and judiciously; and, aided by Mr. S——, the superintendent of police, has frustrated the plot, which, had it not been discovered, would have caused the rising of all the native regiments in the division.”

This event at Kolapore was not without an irritating influence over the adjacent districts of the Southern Mahratta country. At Poonah, Sattara, Belgaum, Dharwar, and other places, the traces of a wide-spread Mohammedan conspiracy were detected; but, fortunately, the germs of insurrection were nipped in the bud. At Poonah* a plot was concerted, between the moulvies of that place and those of Belgaum, for blowing up the arsenal, and murdering the Europeans and native Christians of the place. This was timely discovered by letters intercepted at the post-office; and the authorities were enabled to guard against the impending evil. Many arrests of Mussulman conspirators were made, and the natives of the cantonment bazaar were disarmed. From the out-stations the European families were called in for safety, and were sent under military escort to Bombay. Much of this alarm was not justified by subsequent events; but, at the moment, “discretion was esteemed the better part of valour;” and timely caution had more advocates than unnecessary daring had admirers. The Poonah conspirators, having been tried and convicted of high treason, were securely lodged on board the Company’s receiving-ship *Akbar*, preparatory to transportation for life to the Straits settlements.

At Sattara,† the commissioner, Mr. Rose, had reason to believe the rajah and his family were in communication with the Mohammedan conspirators at Poonah, and

determined to nip the mischief in its bud. Accordingly a force, consisting of two guns, a party of her majesty’s 14th dragoons, with some Southern Mahratta horse, and some men of the 22nd native infantry (the whole under the command of Colonel Malcolm, and accompanied by Mr. Rose and his assistants), marched into the city of Sattara before daylight on the morning of the 6th of August, and surrounded the palace, placing the guns in position in the front. The commissioner then directed his officers to inform the rajah that it was necessary he should take up his residence for a time at Poonah, and that carriages were then in readiness for the conveyance of himself and family. His highness, offended at the unceremonious announcement, at first refused compliance; but, after satisfying himself that he had no choice but to obey, he consented to the removal, and, with the ranee in company, was safe on his way to Poonah before eight o’clock; whence, upon his arrival, he was transmitted, with several of his adherents, under a strong guard to the naval depôt at Butcher Island, in Bombay harbour, where he remained under strict surveillance, until the storm of rebellion had passed over his territory. Some timely exhibitions of punishment followed this abduction; six prisoners, implicated in the outrage at Kolapore, who had been taken at Sattara, having been blown away from guns; and the two events struck wholesome terror into the minds of the surrounding populations.

While these occurrences were progressing, the three presidencies were alike anxious about the state of feeling in the country around Hyderabad, in the Deccan; and, as the territory of the Nizam bordered upon Nagpore in the north-east, and, on the south-east and on the west, adjoined districts belonging to Madras and Bombay respectively, its condition naturally became an object for serious attention. The two largest cities

church, and an excellent library in the cantonments, for the use of the soldiery.

† Sattara is a fortified town, situated between the Krishna and Torna Ghaut, in the province of Bejapore, fifty-six miles south of Poonah. The place is singularly devoid of the usual features of an Indian town, consisting only of one long street, without a temple or other building to denote that it is a Hindostani settlement. The fort crowns the summit of a hill about 800 feet in height, at the bottom of which the town is built; and in the neighbourhood are many hill-forts belonging to Mahratta chiefs, some of which are of considerable strength, and have, at times, occasioned embarrassment to the government.

* Poonah, formerly a capital city of the Mahratta states, is situated at the confluence of two rivers, the Mootai and Moota; about 98 miles S.E. from Bombay. It stands in an extensive plain 200 feet above the level of the sea, and is surrounded by hills, most of which were formerly crowned by fortresses. The great street of Poonah is spacious and handsome, many of the houses being adorned with mythological paintings and devices. The ancient palace, or fort, is surrounded by massive and lofty walls, with four circular towers; and has only one entrance. A Hindoo college has been established at Poonah by the government; and there is also a spacious and convenient English

of the Nizam—namely Hyderabad, in the south-east portion, and Aurungabad, in the north-west—contained at the time, besides the establishment of the residency near the former city, many English families belonging to military and civil servants of the Company, which, by the terms of various treaties, had a right of maintaining a large military cantonment at Sekunderabad, a few miles north from Hyderabad city. The infantry cantonment was three miles in length, well provided with all requisites for a military station; and the cavalry lines were situated about two miles north of the cantonment. The military station for the troops of the Nizam was at Bolarum, a short distance from Sekunderabad. Matters had continued perfectly quiet in this quarter until the 16th of July, when it was communicated to the resident political agent that a number of the people in the city were much excited, and that a scheme was in agitation to coerce the Nizam to attack the British residency, which was situated outside of the city, but some miles distant from the English cantonments. Accordingly, early in the evening of the 17th, about 4,000 budmashes, led by 300 Rohillas, marched upon the residency, ostensibly to demand the release of a jemadar of the 1st Nizam cavalry, who had been delivered up to the resident as a mutineer, by order of the Nizam. Major Davidson, who was then at the residency, acted with promptitude and vigour: an express was at once sent off to cantonments for aid; and he then marched out with the European guard and three guns to attack the insurgents. Upon coming in front of them, he opened a fire of grape with such rapidity and effect that the rebels were stricken with terror, and fled, leaving many of their companions on the ground, among whom were several of the Rohillas. Some prisoners were made; and among them the Rohilla chief, who was mortally wounded, and afterwards died. So quickly had the affair been managed, that, when the cavalry and horse artillery arrived from Sekunderabad, the rebels had been dispersed, and the city of Hyderabad resumed its ordinary aspect. This was almost the only approach to an outbreak that occurred in the portion of the Deccan near the borders of the Carnatic.

An officer of the 30th Madras native infantry, in a letter descriptive of this affair, writes thus:—

“I must tell you that last Friday even-

ing, the 17th of July, the resident got information that the Rohillas were assembling in large numbers for an attack. Well, in the evening, about half-past six, Georgie and myself were sitting in the verandah, when we heard the three alarm guns sound the signal for the troops to fall-in and be off at once to the general parade. I went off to the mess of the 7th cavalry to find out what was amiss, when I was met by a cavalry officer rushing home as hard as he could go for his horse. He shouted to me, ‘The alarm is sounding’—magic words, as you may suppose. I turned, ran home as fast as my legs could carry me, got out the horse and carriage, dressed and put dear G—— and the son in, and rattled off to the barracks, where we found all the riflemen out, and the cavalry getting to saddle. By this time an express came in to say that they—i.e., the Rohillas—were attacking the residency. Off galloped the cavalry and horse artillery; we remained at the barracks; all the ladies together at the adjutant’s house. The whole force was out: we were all bivouacked on the parade-ground till about 1 A.M. About seven, the report of guns told us that the work had commenced. But we were, as the saying is, one too many for them. They came on and got nine rounds of grapeshot, which knocked them over like ninepins. They then got into a house in the bazaar, from which they kept up a fire on our fellows and the residency all night. This house was so situated that the guns could not be brought to bear upon it, so it was resolved to wait till the morning, and then have at them with the infantry. However, at 4 A.M. they walked off. We know of twenty-nine Rohillas picked up dead; how many wounded, of course, we cannot find out; but the quantity of blood on the floor of the house, when taken possession of in the morning, told that they must have suffered heavily. The troops turned out splendidly; so people have little fear of the Madrasees following suit with Bengal. The residency has now been strongly fortified. It is supposed we shall have a row to-morrow again, as it is Friday (the Mussulman Sunday), on which day they think it a mark of zeal for their prophet to try and murder us; but as our sepoy are stanch, they are likely to get more than they bargain for. On Friday last all the ladies (our depôt excepted) were put into the arsenal and European hospital. You may imagine the scene; drums beat-

ing, bugles and trumpets sounding the alarm, and, in all directions, carriages rushing off to the above-mentioned places. All the Europeans who lived in the city came rushing into cantonments, or took refuge in the residency. We had not a single man on our side touched, though they were being fired at all night. The 12th lancers were telegraphed for from Poonah, and are likely to be here in about a fortnight. Their approach is hailed with great glee."

On the 30th of July, the 26th regiment of native infantry mutinied at Meean Meer, about noon. Major Spencer, who commanded the regiment, immediately went into the lines, and for some time appeared to have succeeded in pacifying the men; but he, with the quartermaster-sergeant, the havildar-major, a pay havildar, and some others, lost their lives in the vain attempt to maintain order. The major appears to have been slain from behind, by blows dealt him with a hatchet. The miscreants attempted to inveigle some other officers into their lines; and Lieutenant M. White had a most narrow escape. Just as he was on the point of dismounting, to aid, as he imagined, his commanding officer, he was warned by a sepoy that he would be murdered, and got away with difficulty, and with a slight scratch from a sword. The mutineers fled rapidly to the eastward, across the grand parade, and got into the dense jungle without being overtaken. About thirty of the mutineers were killed by the new Sikh and Punjabee battalion, and seven were captured and summarily executed.

Accounts were afterwards received from Mr. F. Cooper, deputy-commissioner of Umritsir, of the almost total destruction of the 26th regiment. The mutineers continued their flight without ceasing, for a distance of forty miles, up to the left bank of the Ravee, which they in vain tried to cross opposite Ujwala. On Mr. Cooper's reaching the place, about 4 P.M. on the 31st of July, he found that about 150 men had been shot or drowned by his police, aided by the villagers; 160 were captured on the island in the river; 35 were counted drowning in trying to get off. Numerous fugitives were brought in from all quarters during the night: 237 were summarily executed when taken; 41 died from fatigue; and about 21 more had been apprehended in neighbouring villages. In round numbers, 500 men were thus accounted for. If

to these be added the furlough and sick men, the Bhoojocre men, the Sikhs and Punjabees, and some guards which remained, the total strength of the whole regiment is approximately given.

A letter from Peshawur, of about the same date, describes an exciting affair that had recently come off at that station, as follows:—"I am always picturing to myself the horror of people at home when they hear of the succession of atrocities perpetrated by the scoundrel sepoys, and of the narrow escape we have had of losing India. We disarmed the 10th irregular cavalry here, and then disbanded them for not charging the 55th native infantry (who were in open mutiny), when ordered to do so. We managed to get these 'doves,' as they are called, dismounted within a hundred yards of the guns; sent a party to seize their horses at their pickets; then commanded them to lay down their arms; then sent searchers to relieve them of their paraphernalia; made them take off their coats; then ordered them to take off their boots. Fancy a cavalry regiment hard at work taking off each other's boots, under the influence of artillery! Each man was then given eight annas (1s.); the whole secured, and marched off to the river side, where they are to be embarked in boats and sent down the Indus, where I expect every mother's son will have a chance of being drowned in the rapids. To-night we pick out horses to complete the battery from the disbanded cavalry. We had a night-alarm a short time since; you know we (the artillery) all sleep at the guns. I awoke and heard 'boom,' 'boom;' hearing guns fired (for so it seemed) at regular intervals from the fort, we thought the city had risen, and a night-alarm all through the cantonments was the consequence: we were all at our rendezvous in notime. This was caused by the explosion of little mines in the city, in honour of a wedding. Well, next morning, the persons concerned, and those who worked at the mines, were tied up, and received such a flogging as they will not easily forget. In these times of danger and treachery, we don't bother ourselves about the quirks of law, but hang, shoot, or flog, as circumstances arise. We stand no nonsense here. The general swears he will maintain discipline."

At Jelpigoree the elements of discord were at work also. In the neighbourhood of this station, at which the 73rd Bengal

native infantry was quartered, no European troops whatever were in cantonments, and every facility was therefore afforded to the evil-disposed of the regiment to coerce, or, if need be, to destroy their English officers. An effort to that end was made towards the end of July; but the corps was not then ripe for revolt, and the plot was discovered in time to render it harmless. The details of this affair are given by an officer of the 73d regiment; who says, in a letter dated 30th July—"We have been a little unsettled lately, in consequence of a discovery that there were some twelve or fifteen men in the regiment who were disposed to mutiny, and, if possible, kill their officers. We at once arrested the ringleaders, tried them by court-martial, and sent them to the gaol, heavily ironed. The putting on of irons is almost the greatest indignity which can be offered to a high-caste sepoy, so we naturally felt anxious during and after the process. However, all went smoothly, and they are now on their way to Calcutta. After this we breathed a little more freely; but the sequel will show how nearly we brought the storm on our own heads. A day or two after, information was brought us by a faithful sepoy, that two men had been to him, regretting that they could not get up a party to attack the officers at mess; they expressed themselves as ready to do so if they could induce three more to join them. Our informant promised to join them. The next day they got their party augmented to six, and made their arrangements for that very evening; they were to have a boat waiting on the river, which runs close under the mess-house, to make a dash at the officers while at dinner, jump into the boat, and escape into Bhotan. They dared not trust themselves on this side, as the regiment would not join them. We heard all this just as we were going to a grand entertainment given by our regiment to the irregular-cavalry. We thought it better to go, and we therefore went. We remained three hours in the midst of them all, knowing that some few were contemplating our murder in the evening. Up to this time we had had no opportunity of consulting as to what was to be done; in fact, nothing was settled till I mounted my horse, and went down to the lines in a tremendous storm of rain. I had the whole party arrested. They were taken up by sepoys, guarded by them all night, and packed off by them in

a boat next morning for Calcutta. This seems to prove fully that we may rely on the regiment as a body; they never would have imprisoned their own companions had anything like a mutinous spirit been rife among them."

Throughout the country between the northern districts of the Bombay presidency and Malwa, many events occurred sufficiently marked to show, that in all directions the native troops were in an agitated state, as if wavering between the opposite principles of fidelity and revolt. It was, however, worthy of notice, that the troops so affected, were, in very few instances, of the Bombay army; being chiefly Mahrattas or Rajpoots, or men of various contingents, imbued with the same ideas as the Hindostanis and the Oudians. Towards the close of July, a few troopers of the Guzerat irregular horse, at Ahmedabad, attempted to get up a mutinous demonstration, by rushing through the lines of the corps with a green flag, and calling on all true followers of the people to join them, and exterminate the unbelievers. The effort, however, failed; and, in an attempt to seize them, two were killed by the Coolie police corps. Captain Taylor, the commandant of the regiment, was wounded in the affray; and the mutineers were eventually secured, and sentenced to be hanged. The execution took place in presence of the whole force at the station; which was drawn up in line, the Guzerat irregular horse being placed in front of the European troops, and facing the gallows; so that if they had dared to attempt a rescue, their destruction was certain. The mutineers were permitted to address the men of their regiment previous to being turned off; and one of them, profiting by the opportunity, called aloud to them—"Why do you not do as they did at Neemuch, and charge these Kaffirs?" But the reply to his question came in a low murmur of reprobation from the ranks before him, and the traitors met their doom without sympathy.

At Punderpore—a sacred town about 108 miles south-east of Poonah—an *émeute* occurred in July, during which the *mamildar* (or native magistrate) was killed; but the disturbance was quickly repressed, and no serious result followed to the Europeans in that quarter. About the same time, some engineers of the Baroda Railway Company, stationed at that town, created unnecessary alarm by precipitately abandon-

ing the station and fleeing into Surat, where they declared that a large body of insurgents were marching towards the Guicowar's capital. The momentary panic was, however, without any permanent injury to the quiet of the city; and the terrified fugitives were derided for their pusillanimity, instead of being thanked for their timely warning.

The Saugor and Nerbudda provinces were in a somewhat precarious state during the whole of August. At Jubbulpore, the conduct of the troops had not ceased to excite alarm since the first symptoms of disorder became apparent in June; but still the two following months passed away without any attempt at actual mutiny. At length, certain symptoms among the men of the 52nd regiment, induced Major Erskine (then in command) to take extraordinary precautions against danger, and to fortify and provision the residency. An officer of the 52nd, writing of this occurrence on the 17th of July, says—"This is a beautiful place, so we all came here one evening, and such a business you never saw. There were ten ladies, with ever so many children, and a number of sergeants' and writers' wives. The next morning we began intrenching ourselves, bricking up all the verandahs, only leaving holes to fire through. We put quantities of sand-bags on the top of the house, all round; cut down all trees within a certain distance of the house; laid in stores of grain for three months; and staked the ground all round to prevent a rush. We also managed to find two old 4-pounder guns, which we planted on the front side of the house, where they present an imposing appearance. During this time our men kept quiet, and have done so ever since. Of course, we did not admit them within the fortifications; but permitted them to give us two guards, of fifty men each, at some distance outside. We number, inside, about forty-five fighting-men, twenty women, and as many children. We feel quite safe now, and nothing but guns can dislodge us. We have just heard that a force is coming up from Kamptee, consisting of the 33rd Madras infantry, two squadrons of horse, and a detail of artillery. They are going to pass through this country to avenge the atrocities of Jhansie, Nusseerabad, Banda, Nowgong, &c. Two companies of our regiment are to accompany the force, and O—and myself are the lucky ones to go. Won't we just avenge

our countrymen! Our orders are to destroy, burn, kill, and hang; and if the order is not carried out it won't be my fault. Some of the worst atrocities took place at the stations I have named. At Jhansie, for instance, fifty-three Europeans, including civilians and officers, were starved out and had to surrender. The rebels tied them to trees—ladies and gentlemen; then laid down the children in front; and, after cutting the latter in two, cut the men's heads off, and then ended by violating and murdering all the women. I have seen the depositions taken by the chief commissioner here, of natives who were eye-witnesses,* and had escaped; but they are too heart-rending to relate. Cawnpore is said to have gone, and every European murdered—among them Captain and Mrs. Wiggins, of our regiment, and two children. No punishment can be too great for these brutes; and our revenge will be awful, as we have no fear now of speeches about the mild Hindoos. We expect to be out about six or seven months; so, should I not be able to write, that will be the reason. The revolver you sent me is always round my waist, loaded. I could get £50 for it now, as there are only two others here. I have but a short time to write, having the charge of the west side fortifications. We are, of course, improving every day, and shall soon be impregnable. My own battery consists of a musket from my company, a double rifle, two double guns, besides the Colt. If you could look in upon us you would not think we were a very lugubrious set, but rather that we were met on some festive occasion. At this moment I hear the piano and singing. We are a queer lot, we Britons: day after day we hear of atrocities too horrid to write about, and of the murder of friends and relatives, and never seem to think of our own fate. Laughing, talking, eating, drinking, music, singing—all seems to go on much as usual."

The movable column from Kamptee, mentioned in the preceding extract, duly arrived at Jubbulpore, where it halted for a day or two, and then proceeded on its mission of justice. A small detachment was afterwards sent back to the station, for its better protection, in case any disturbance should occur.

* This would seem to be tolerably conclusive as to facts previously recorded of the sepoy atrocities, notwithstanding they have been questioned by parties at a distance from the scene.

For some time, nothing occurred to increase the anxiety which the European inhabitants of Jubbulpore, in common with those of the surrounding districts, naturally felt in the unsettled state of the country; but at length, some appearance of mystery in the conduct of several of the influential inhabitants, towards the latter end of the Mohurram,* excited suspicion of impending evil; and, by the exertions of Lieutenant Clarke, the deputy-commissioner of Jubbulpore, information was obtained that it had been the intention of the rajah of Gond (Shunkur Shah), and his son, Ragonauth Shah, accompanied by several zemindars with their followers, and in concert with some sepoys of the 52nd regiment, to attack the cantonments on the last day of the Mohurram, murder all the Europeans, burn the cantonments, and afterwards plunder the treasury and city; and that it had not taken place on the appointed day for two reasons—first, that they were uncertain how many of the sepoys would join them; and, secondly, because two of the jemadars of the rebel party had refused to act with them. It was also ascertained, that the attempt would probably be made during the Dusserah.†

Upon receiving this information, Lieutenant Clarke sent a chuprassy, in the disguise of a fakir, to find out more of the alleged conspiracy; and the scheme succeeded admirably; for the rajah and his son were completely deceived by the disguised emissary, and, without hesitation, disclosed to him their intentions, as well as the means they had resolved to employ for carrying them into effect. Acting upon the report of the chuprassy, a party of twenty sowars, with a strong body of police, was assembled at Lieutenant Clarke's bungalow; and, accompanied by that officer, proceeded towards the rajah's house, in a village about four miles from Jubbulpore. When about a mile from the place, the lieutenant galloped forward with some sowars, and surrounded the village, until the foot police arrived; when, the arrangements being complete, the rajah and his son, with some thirteen people in his house, were arrested, and conveyed to the military prison in the English cantonments without the slightest difficulty.

* The Mohurram is a fast, kept by Mohammedans in commemoration of the death of Hossein and Hussein, the two sons of Ali, by his cousin Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet.

On searching Rajah Shunkur Shah's and Ragonauth Shah's house, several papers of a rebellious tendency were found. One of them was a prayer by Shunkur Shah, invoking his deity to aid him in the destruction of all Europeans, to overset the government, and to re-establish his own. The paper was found in a silk bag in which he kept his fan, by the bed from which he rose as the lieutenant and his party entered the house. The prayer was written on a scrap of paper torn from a government proclamation after the massacre at Meerut; and the remainder of the proclamation was afterwards found in the house. A second prayer, differing immaterially in one or two words, was also found, in the handwriting of Ragonauth Shah. The following is a literal translation of the prayer of the rajah:—

Shut the mouth of slanderers, bite and
Eat up backbiters, trample down the sinners,
You, "Sustrsingharka."¹
Kill the British, exterminate them, "Mat Chundee."²
Let not the enemy escape, nor the offspring of such,
Oh! "Singharkah!"³
Show favour to Shunkur,
Support your slave!
Listen to the cry of religion,
"Mathalka."⁴
Eat up the unclean,
Make no delay,
Now devour them;
And that quickly,
"Ghormatkalka."⁵

¹ A name of the goddess Deeva; signifying "Destroyer of the Enemy." ², ³, ⁴, ⁵—other names, expressive of her various attributes.

On the second night after the imprisonment of the conspirators, a report was forwarded to Lieutenant Clarke, from the regimental lines, that it was the intention of some of the sepoys to attempt to rescue them. The Madras force was immediately turned out, and remained under arms all night. The prisoners were removed, for greater safety, from the gaol to the residency, where no attempt of the kind was likely to be made. In the course of the night, a few shots were fired in the lines; and a picket was fired on, but from a long distance; after which, eight of the worst men in the 52nd regiment set fire to a bungalow, and deserted, taking their arms with them.

A court was held on the following day, for the trial of the rajah and his son; and proof of their complicity in the plot for the

† The Dusserah is a Hindoo festival, continuing for ten days, which are appropriated to religious ceremonies, and to the public exhibition of the idols, to whom offerings are presented.

destruction of the Europeans being conclusive, they were sentenced to suffer death by being blown from guns—this mode of execution being resorted to in preference to hanging, in consequence of the excitement then visible in the lines of the 52nd, which suggested an idea of a possible attempt at rescue; an event that would have been facilitated by the delay afforded while constructing the gallows. Accordingly, at eleven o'clock on the morning of the 18th of September, two guns were advanced a few hundred yards in front of the residency, covered by a company of her majesty's 33rd regiment—a strong party of Madras light cavalry being on either flank; and the two principal offenders were brought upon the ground, under a guard of armed police, and an escort of the 33rd. The old man walked up to the guns with a firm stride and haughty demeanour; and but for the defiant tone in which he breathed his last aspirations for revenge, his snow-white hair and venerable appearance might almost have excited a feeling of compassion in the breasts of those he had plotted to destroy. The son, Ragonauth Shah, was less determined in his manner, as he placed himself in front of the gun that was to annihilate him. The requisite preparations occupied but a few moments. A signal was given, and instantaneously the torn and shattered remains of two human beings were strewn, in a shower of blood, over the residency compound. Of these the kites and vultures had a share; but such parts of them as could be gathered up at a later period of the day, were given over to the ranees—terrible memorials of what once had been a husband and a son.

The rajah of Gond, although for many years shorn of territory and power, had still possessed the ancient name of his dynasty; and the traditionary *prestige* of his family afforded the disaffected a rallying-point which they were ready to avail themselves of. In former days, the Gond rajahs had held absolute rule over a large extent of

country, and could trace their descent through the mists of sixty generations. Cast down from their independence as sovereigns by the Mahrattas, who despoiled them of their territories, the living descendants of the family were in utter poverty, when the armies of the Company beat down the spoiler and oppressor. The government commiserated the fallen condition of the once-powerful family, and hoped, by restoring to it a share of its former importance, to secure its gratitude, and, at the same time, strengthen the southern frontier of its acquisitions against future aggression by the neighbouring states. This considerate policy was accordingly adopted; and the result we have seen.

An officer present at the scene of death, describes some of the incidents as follows:—

“I have just come back from seeing the rebel rajah and his son blown from guns. It was an awful sight; but they richly deserved a far worse fate. Fancy—it has been found out that we were all to be roasted alive when caught! *He prayed, as he was being lashed to the gun, that his surviving children might be spared to burn us!!!* We went down to where the two guns were drawn up, with a detachment of infantry and cavalry, to prevent surprise—the cavalry rushing about to keep the people back from the front of the guns. Soon afterwards the prisoners arrived, looking very apathetic and *nonchalant*; their fetters were knocked off on the ground. I was quite close to them, as we officers were inside a circle, close to the guns, into which the crowd was not allowed to come. They were then bound to the mouths of the cannon. The way is this:—You stand with your back to a cannon mouth, which is pointed to the back of the heart: you have now a very good idea of it. The artillery officers, when all was ready, gave the command in a loud, clear voice, ‘Division! ready! fire!’ A boom—a thud, as of a body falling—and all was over.* You know I have a very soft heart, and would most likely have fainted, falling down in a stinking shower. One wretched fellow slipped from the rope by which he was tied to the gun, just before the explosion, and his arm was nearly set on fire. Whilst hanging in his agony, under the gun, a sergeant applied a pistol to his head, and three times the cap snapped, the man each time wincing from the expected shot. At last a rifle was fired into the back of his head, and the blood poured out of the nose and mouth like water from a briskly-handled pump. This was the most horrible sight of all. I have seen death in all its forms—never anything to equal this man's end.”

* A medical officer of the Bombay presidency gives the following description of an “execution parade:”—“This first parade was a horrible sight, but the blowing away from guns is most appalling. After the explosion, the grouping of the men's remains in front of each gun was various and frightful. One man's head was perched upon his back, and he was staring round as if looking for his legs and arms. All you see at the time is a cloud like a dust-storm, composed of shreds of clothing, burning muscle, and frizzing fat, with lumps of coagulated blood. Here and there a stomach or a liver comes

or got sick at home, if I had seen the same before these massacres; but I can assure you, that although I felt the awful solemnity of two souls going, with a prayer for murder upon their lips, before their God, yet I went up afterwards, with almost gratified feelings, to look at their faces, still thinking of Cawn-pore, Delhi, Meerut, Jhansie, Bareilly, Fyzabad. The old man's face was quiet and severe (he never had moved a muscle the whole time before), as was also the young one's (a mau of forty.) Their legs and arms fell close to the cannon mouths, they being tied; the head and upper part of the body being blown about fifty yards in front. Quite untouched their faces were, and quite quiet. It is a very quick death, as they can feel no pain, the region of the heart being at once blown away. This is nearly the only form in which death has any terrors for a native. If he is hung, or shot by musketry, he knows that his friends or relatives will be allowed to claim his body, and will give him the funeral rites required by his religion; if a Hindoo, that his body will be burned with all due ceremonies; if a Mussulman, that his remains will be decently interred, as directed in the Koran. But if sentenced to death in this form, he knows that his body will be blown into a thousand pieces, and that it will be altogether impossible for his relatives, however devoted to him, to be sure of picking up all the fragments of his own particular body; and the thought that perhaps a limb of some one of a different religion to himself might possibly be burned or buried with the remainder of his own body, is agony to him."

The execution was over, and the troops had returned to quarters before the hour of noon; and then, with a view to assure the sepoys that only the guilty had any cause to apprehend severe measures on the part of the government, Colonel Jamieson, with two other officers, went down to the lines, and remained talking to the men for some time—ultimately leaving them with an impression that all was quiet, and that their visit had produced a good effect. About sunset, however, one of the sepoys, who had already given proofs of fidelity, reported to the adjutant, Lieutenant Miller, that some plot was brewing, and that he expected the whole regiment would desert during the night. To have then acted on the offensive, and deprived the men of their arms and ammunition, would have been the wisest course; and, in all probability, would have

been resorted to; but, unfortunately, three officers of the regiment were out on detachment at Saleemabad and Patun, and any extreme measures would, it was felt, seriously compromise their safety. The officers had assembled at mess; when, between nine and ten o'clock, the regiment rose in a body, excepting one native officer and ten men, and quietly left their lines, taking with them their muskets and the ammunition in their pouches; all their other property being left behind. The mutineers remained for some time in the vicinity, and afterwards moved off round the city, taking the road to Patun: in passing, they fired a few shots, but without effecting any damage; they, however, announced their intention to return in two or three days to plunder the city.

The Tuhseddaree of Patun, on the left bank of the Herun river (where a company of the regiment, under the command of Lieutenant Macgregor, was stationed), was distant about twenty miles from Jubbulpore; and thither, in the first place, the mutineers directed their steps, for the purpose of taking up the detachment, and also another of about forty men at Kuttungee, a station yet higher up the river. Both these detachments joined the mutineers, except a jemadar of the Kuttungee party, who alone remained faithful. Upon arriving at Patun, sentries were placed over Lieutenant Macgregor, whom they compelled to accompany them on their march—announcing their intentions respecting him by a letter to Colonel Jamieson, of which the following is a translation:—

"To his Excellency, the Lord of Clemency, the Bountiful of the Age, his Excellency Colonel Sahib Bahadoor: may his power be perpetual!"

"After respects, the representation is this—that Shaikh Dianuth Allee (havildar-major), and Salar Buksh (naik), and Dirguz Sing (naik)—[here follow the names of ten sepoys]—and others whose names are unknown, these sepoys, sir, send here; and this regiment the havildar-major ruined, and said that the Major Sahib and Mason Sahib told the Madras sepoys to seize all the arms of the regiment and kill the men; then you will receive thirty rupees per man as reward, and be promoted to subahdar bahadoors. This speech the havildar-major made to the havildars on duty. If he had not said this we would not have deserted and saved our lives by flight, as only from the havildar-major's speech we deserted: it is proper that these men should by some means or other be sent to us—let them be seized and sent; we have committed no injury to the government; and as for the muskets and cartridge-boxes which we brought away with us, we have left our property in lieu thereof; having sold it, take the price; each sepoy left about thirty rupees' worth of property;

also send pay for one month and fifteen days. We are men of honour, and are doing government service here. Your lordship answered, that 'the Madras sepoys are not under my authority;' then, having become helpless, we came away here by your order to save our lives; and on the 19th of May, when your officers fled, then we, being faithful to our salt, did not say anything to your lordship, and at that time the Madras regiment was not present; and when the Adjutant Sahib was attacked by a sepoy with a bayonet, if we had not been true to our salt, why did we seize the sepoy and make him over to you? And your highness is our lord and master; but when we did not find any way to save our lives, we fled and came here; and we had regard to your lordship's salt; if not, at that time we might have killed you. And if you do not let those sepoys go, then this Sahib* we will not kill, but, having bound him, will take him to Delhi; and if you will send those sepoys, then we will cause the Sahib to arrive where you are. Moreover, having seized those sepoys, send them with a guard of police, and it will be well; and if life remains, we will again be present in your service; we will not run away. This letter is written on the part of all the sepoys and non-commissioned officers. All sepoys, non-commissioned and commissioned officers, send salam."

Having dispatched this letter to Jubbulpore, a portion of the mutineers proceeded to Saleemabad, about thirty miles on the Mirzapore-road, where Lieutenants Barton and Cockburn were on duty with a detachment of the regiment. Upon their arrival, the two officers were ordered by the rebels to depart for Jubbulpore—the men who had been under their command bidding them farewell with, apparently, much regret, and with tears in their eyes. They were also permitted to bring away with them some 2,000 rupees of treasure; but the mutineers appropriated 1,400 rupees to themselves, as "their pay up to date."

The above letter from the sepoys would have been unnoticed, but for the hope that, by replying to it, some of the men who might have been induced to leave with the regiment against their will, would, upon reflection, return to their duty, and bring with them the captive lieutenant. The following letter, written in Hindoo, was consequently transmitted to the mutinous troops:—

"To Buldee Jewarree, subahdar, and as many non-commissioned officers and sepoys who are well-wishers of the state, this advice is given—that the acts you have committed were without reason, and your ignorance and folly were great; in fact, what has happened has happened. But there is one way for your good, which, if you pay attention to, for your whole life you will remain saying, 'Bless the Colonel Sahib, and all the officers who wish our good.' The advice is this:—You have deserted, and all know that the punishment for desertion is great; but you do one thing, and you will not be punished

* Lieutenant Macgregor.

here by us; on the contrary, we officers will solicit the governor-general to forgive your offences. The work is this:—Having brought Mr. Macgregor with you, come here without fear, and never think that any one will practice deceit with you, because when we have once written that no harm shall come to you, it shall not come. Again, what you write to send the havildar-major, &c., such a bad thing we cannot do, or ever will do; and when we showed them your petition, they expressed their willingness to go; but we will never let them go. Understand all of you, that up to this time nothing so bad has been committed which might not be pardoned; but if Mr. Macgregor is in any way hurt, or any robbing takes place, you will not escape by our endeavours to save you. Understand, also, that you have committed a very bad action; but the Colonel Sahib believes that many men have been taken away against their will, and to these men only is this advice given; for why should good men be ruined in company with the bad characters? Understand, also, that no further communication will be held with you, and not one single letter will be written; therefore, if you intend following this advice, do so quickly, because, after a delay of one or two days, your pardon will be hopeless. Whatever you do, do on seeing this letter. Why do you strike an axe in your own feet?

"P.S.—On arrival here you must make over your muskets to the colonel; afterwards—as the order comes from the governor-general—your pardon will be seen."

This attempt to conciliate was, as might have been expected, fruitless. The mutineers were determined to detain Lieutenant Macgregor in their hands as a hostage, until the ten men of the regiment, who had remained faithful, were delivered up to them to be massacred. It was impossible to purchase the liberation of even a British officer by an act so treacherous and cruel. A handsome reward was offered for the restoration of the lieutenant; but beyond that, no effort seems to have been made for his deliverance.

The regiment that had thus identified itself with the rebel cause, took up a position, on the 26th of September, at Konee, on the west of the Herun river, about twelve miles below Kuttungee. The corps then consisted of about 500 rank and file, having with them 1,000 insurgent matchlockmen; and as there was a probability that they would seize and destroy the boats on the Herun, Colonel Miller, in command of the Kamptee movable column at Srirangampore (*en route* for Jubbulpore), dispatched a company of the 33rd Madras native infantry, with twelve troopers of the 4th Madras cavalry, in charge of Lieutenant Watson, accompanied by Major Jenkins, assistant-quartermaster-general, to secure the boats. About three hours after their departure, and just as the column had prepared to re-

sume its march, two troopers galloped into the camp, with intelligence that the advanced party had been surprised by the rebels of the 52nd regiment; that the two officers had been killed, and the men were retreating upon the column. Colonel Miller forthwith set his troops, consisting of 384 men, with four guns, in motion, and advanced to the village of Golera, about three miles in advance of Sringampore. He had scarcely had time to get into position, when the 52nd were seen marching along the road, in columns of sections. Two guns were fired at, or rather, into them, on which they left the road, and advanced through the jungle on either side, accompanied by the matchlockmen. Colonel Miller, finding the jungle practice rather to his disadvantage, fell back upon some open ground, followed by the enemy. A brisk fire was kept up for half-an-hour, and the enemy was driven back. The column then advanced slowly through three or four miles of very jungly country driving the enemy before it, and halting occasionally, to favour them with a few rounds from the guns, by way of accelerating their flight.

On reaching the open country near Kuttungee, the cavalry was pushed on in pursuit, the enemy being discovered in full retreat among the hills in rear of the town; but, from the nature of the ground, the horses could not follow; and before the infantry could get up, the greater number had effected their escape: a few only were killed; and some prisoners taken on the hill and in the town, were summarily disposed of by the provost-marshal.

On the column approaching Kuttungee, it was agreeably surprised by Major Jenkins and Lieutenant Watson, whose deaths had been reported, riding up to it. They had succeeded in cutting their way through an ambuscade in the dark, and had concealed themselves on the hills, until the advance of the column enabled them to rejoin it. Lieutenant Watson had been wounded on the cheek by a musket-ball, and knocked off his horse. His escape was miraculous. Major Jenkins' charger had two bullets through him, but brought his master safe before he dropped. At the entrance to the town, the column came up with the mutilated remains of Lieutenant Macgregor. His throat had been severed; a bullet discharged into his breast, and his body pierced with bayonets. This foul murder had been perpetrated at three o'clock the same morning,

immediately before the mutineers attacked the advanced party before mentioned.

The capture of one of the ringleaders of the mutiny, is detailed in the following extract from a report of Lieutenant Pereira, commanding the rifles of the 1st Nagpore irregular corps. He says—"On seeing a number of men in red jackets, supposed to be mutineers, running hither and thither among the thick jungles skirting the hills of Kuttungee, I advanced the rifles in skirmishing order, and proceeded in that direction. On arriving at the base of one of the hills, private Ramchurren saw a man hid behind one of the bushes. He cried out, 'Who are you?' and, on receiving no reply, havildar Huttah Tewarree and private Ramchurren immediately seized the man. Private Shaik Emam, who was one of the files adjoining, immediately went to their assistance, and seized the man's musket, who was just on the point of full cocking it. On seizing him, they discovered he was a colour-havildar of the late 52nd Bengal native infantry. He begged for mercy, and said that he would give them a hundred rupees to shoot him dead. They replied, 'We are government servants, and don't require your money; government pays us well.' At this time I came up to them, and ordered him to be brought on as a prisoner. On arriving near the encamping-ground, I caused him to be brought before the commissioner of the Saugor and Nerbudda territories, who asked his name; to which he replied, Buldeo Sookul; and then he was ordered to be executed. This man is supposed to have been one of the principal ringleaders of the mutiny."—Lieutenant Pereira concluded by recommending the havildar and two privates to the favourable notice of the commanding officer; the result of which was the promotion of the former to the rank of jemadar (lieutenant), and of the two latter to the rank of havildar (sergeant.)

The subjoined extracts afford some interesting details connected with the mutiny of the 52nd regiment, and also throw some light upon the movements of the rebels in the districts to which the writers refer. The first selected is dated from Jubbulpore, October 8th, 1857; but is written by one of the officers in charge of the detachment at Saleemabad. This gentleman says:—

"I will now give you, as well as I can recollect, an account of my escape and the mutiny of the regiment. On the morning of the 18th of September I got an express from M——, dated September 17th,

8 P.M., saying that they had every reason to believe that the regiment intended to mutiny that night, and to take the treasury and magazine with them, as well as to release all the prisoners. The letter went on to say, that I was to act to the best of my judgment, and that the colonel would bear me out in anything I did or ordered. I at once told my men; some would not believe it; but all took the native oath to remain true, and, under those circumstances, I had not the heart to leave them. I told them I did not wish them to fight the regiment, as I made sure it would come my way to proceed to Mirzapore. I wanted, on the arrival of the regiment, that one man should go and tell them that my company would not join them; at the same time I felt sure, that if the whole regiment had mutinied my men would not stand. I got no more news that night. I did not sleep at all; but, at daylight, I went outside, and, by the gloomy looks of the men, and their talking together, knew that something was wrong. I walked among them for some time, longing to see my native officer; at last he came. I asked him what was the matter; he threw up his hands and said, 'The regiment has gone, and these men won't obey, but are going off to Delhi.' I said I should order them to march into Jubbulpore; he said, 'You had better not; mount your horse and be off.' I then saw that nothing but a bolt would save us, so I went and called C—, ordered our horses, put on my revolver, and took my double rifle, giving my gun to C—. I saw we could not leave without being seen, so I thought I had better go away openly. We found our horses saddled outside, and a number of my men all round them. I saw they had put a sentry over my luggage and the government treasury. I walked quietly up the road, followed by some of my better-disposed men; they saluted me, and many wanted to shake hands; some actually cried, but not a single man offered to accompany me, so hopeless did they consider my escape to be. On we rode, at a foot pace, for fear of tiring our horses, expecting to see the mutinous regiment at every turn of the road. After going fifteen miles we arrived at a village, where we heard that the regiment had really gone, but were not coming this way. I found a dozen irregular cavalry there; and, though I could not trust them, I knew, if they wanted to murder us, they could always overtake us, so I ordered them to mount and come on with us, and made them bring along whatever government treasure there was in the village; and, after having a draught of milk, on we went, having first sent on a trooper at a gallop with a letter to say we were coming. At every village through which we passed the people turned out, and only looked at us, as our small cavalcade was too strong for them. When we got within a few miles of the station, we found a buggy which had been sent out for us, and a couple of bottles of beer. It was quite dark, and pouring, having rained nearly all day. I was glad to see the buggy, as we then knew that the station was all right. We arrived at last at about half-past nine o'clock, and were received with cheers. Of course every European was in the residency; and ladies, in all stages of undress, rushed out of their rooms to shake hands. My dress consisted only of a coloured flannel shirt and canvas trousers, shoes, and a leather hat, besides being dripping wet; so that I myself was not very presentable. I then heard that poor Macgregor had been taken prisoner; but all were in great

hopes that he would be released, as a free pardon and 5,000 rupees were offered to any party who would bring him in. As soon as the Madras column heard of the regiment going, they retraced their steps; and, on the 27th, as they were marching through some very thick jungle, they were attacked by our regiment and about 1,000 Bundeelas. They were only two marches off, and we could hear the guns plainly. The mutineers were driven back with some loss; those who were taken prisoners were hung up at once, to the intense delight of the European artillerymen. Poor Macgregor was murdered that morning: he was found with his arm broken, five bayonet wounds, and a shot through the neck. He was brought in, and we buried him with the usual military honours. He was our senior lieutenant, and had been brought up at the school I was at, at Worthing. I was one of the committee of adjustment of his estate, and had to go to his old quarters, where everything reminded me forcibly of him; and although we were not great friends, it is most distressing, after being for nine years together, to see a brother officer lose his life in so terrible a manner. It was only on hearing of his horrible fate that I could realise my providential escape; and I am convinced, that if I had waited five minutes, I should have been made a prisoner. That day was an eventful one for me. I can assure you, that it is not a comfortable feeling to be surrounded by men who, after being under one's command for so many years, suddenly throw off all obedience and discipline. I felt perfectly powerless, besides having a junior officer with me, whose life depended on my acts. On seeing how things were going on, I thought perfect coolness our best safeguard, and this I kept up to the time of leaving Saleemabad. I left orders with the company to provide carriage for my tents and luggage, and called to my colour-sergeant to bring me whatever money he had of mine. To my great surprise he brought it, and I put the money in my belt. Two days after my arrival here, in came my things—nothing missing; so they actually obeyed my last order. * * * Some of our men are being brought in prisoners, and will be hung. Two men of the 1st company came in this morning; they could not look me in the face. I hear they have just been hung. * * * Great dissatisfaction is felt at the order that no sepoy is to be hung except it is proved that he was present at a murder. Who is to bear witness to the murders of our unfortunate countrymen at Cawnpore, Futteghur, Shahjehanpore, &c.?"

The following is from Jubbulpore, dated October 9th:—

"We are still at Jubbulpore, you see; and I do not see much prospect of our being able to get away in a hurry, as it is rather dangerous to go along the road without an escort, and I am not likely to get one at present. My last would tell you of the mutiny of the 52nd; how one detachment of the regiment allowed two officers to escape, while another had made a prisoner of poor Macgregor; and how the two companies, with the Kamptee column, had been quietly disarmed—that Dumoh had been abandoned, and the column was on its march back to Jubbulpore. On the 26th the column was at Srirampore. The next morning the column was to march to Kuttunjee (ten miles) at daylight; but at two o'clock A.M., the grenadier company of the 33rd, under Lieutenant Watson, started with

the intention of securing the boats on the Herun river. Major Jenkins, quartermaster-general, went with Watson. After riding about three miles, they had got about 200 yards in front of the company. Suddenly a bugle in front of them sounded the fire; 'snick, snick' went some muskets, then a regular volley. 'Holloa,' said Jenkins, 'here we are in the midst of them.' Dark though it was, they could see they were surrounded by sepoy; they were the rebel 52nd advancing to attack the Kamptee column. One sepoy stepped close up to Watson, and fired in his face; the ball only gave him a gash under the eye. He rode the man down, but he himself fell in doing so. He regained his feet, but fell again and again. Somehow he managed to catch hold of Jenkins's stirrup, and ran on; his horse trotted up to him, and he contrived to mount. Both then cantered on, but immediately came on the rear-guard. 'Halt, who comes there?' called out the leading file. They gave no reply, but dashed through unhurt, though exposed to the fire of the whole guard. Was it not a wonderful escape? Jenkins's horse had two balls in him, and Watson's boy, carrying his rifle, was shot dead; they hid in the jungle till the column came up in the forenoon; they were received with shouts and cheers, for every one thought them killed. The mutineers had no bayonets fixed. The grenadier company fell back on the column in good order; which, being warned of the state of affairs, advanced at daylight, and soon came in sight of the mutineers, advancing steadily along the road in columns of sections: when within 300 yards of them our guns were unmasked; but just as they opened fire, the mutineers wheeled backwards right and left, and got into the jungle, which was very thick, and came quite close to the road. It is believed, that in the course of the morning the mutineers lost about 120 men; there were many hundred Bundeelas with them. Our loss was trifling; a few men wounded, and a trumpeter killed. On coming near Kuttungee, the body of poor Macgregor was found, pierced with eight or nine bayonet wounds, a shot in the neck, his arm gashed and broken; we were all grieved to hear of his sad fate; his body was brought in here, and buried the next day at noon. A wounded havildar and sepoy were taken prisoners at Kuttungee, and hung on the spot. After the column moved on, the mutineers returned, cut down the bodies, and buried them with military honours! The column came in here on the 1st, and Colonel Miller assumed command of the station. We intended to have left this on the 7th; but on the 5th the road was found to be unsafe: it has been unsafe any day for the last three months! Bergee, fifteen miles from this, on the high-road to Kamptee, was burnt by rebels. On the 27th or 28th ult., a large kafilā was plundered at the Silwa Ghaut, five miles further on. Sixteen mutineers of the 52nd were at Bergee on the 4th; they cut off the noses of some Bunyahs who had gone to buy ghee; and one of them, known to be the principal in the murder of poor Macgregor, sent a message to Captain Moxon, 52nd—that they hoped to serve him the same way; he had offered 200 rupees for the colours; they had intended to collect a party, and attack Jubbulpore; that they would bring the colours with them, and he might then take them if he could! Yesterday morning a party from this were sent to clear the road of the villains; and as Cumberlege, with the 4th cavalry, *en route* here, was only three miles beyond Bergee, it was hoped that the rebels might

be captured or done for. I hear to-day that the expedition was unsuccessful; it is said that the rebels have retired to a hill like a natural fortress. I imagine some effort will be made to dislodge them, as the infantry have not returned, and the cavalry are still on the other side of the river. Gunnesgunge, another place on the road, is also occupied by rebels—Gonds, I believe. The main body of the mutinous 52nd are gone up the Mirzapore-road; we heard of them at Sehora (twenty-five miles from this) two days ago. Our Calcutta dāk has been interrupted for two or three days, but is now open, so I dare say the mutineers have left the high-road. The officers of the 50th Bengal native infantry, with 250 stanch men, have arrived at Allahabad in safety. Three sepoy of the 52nd have been captured, brought in here, and hanged, and five Bundeelas were turned off two days ago. These affairs are taken as a matter of course."

At the close of September, nearly the whole of the territories of Saugor and Nerbudda were in a state of revolt. In Saugor, distant ninety miles north-west from Jubbulpore, a small garrison of 130 Europeans, with about 170 women and children, and a small force of sepoy, were, during the months of September and October, shut up in a scarcely defensible fort, surrounded by many thousand insurgents, and occasioning the most painful apprehensions for their safety; the whole country being in the hands of chiefs who were ready to rise up in open rebellion at news of any discomfiture of the British. Numerous Thakoors had risen, and were plundering the villages in all directions. Jaloun, Jhansie, and Dumoh—all important towns—were in the hands of the insurgents; and only the presence of a few hundred Madras troops stood between the authorities of these important provinces and total anarchy. The commissioner of Nagpore could send no more Madrases from the south; in the north, Mr. Grant was unable to spare a single company from Benares; while the independent and unreliable state of Rewah lay on one side; and Banda, in a state of open rebellion, lay on the other. In this dilemma, the charge entrusted to Major Erskine, as commissioner of the Saugor and Nerbudda districts, became one of painful responsibility. As the autumn drew to a close, his reports to the government became daily more gloomy. In one letter he said—"The mass of native chiefs disbelieve in the existence of a British army; and nothing but the presence of troops among them will convince them of their error." Again and again were such representations sent to the governor-general; and as often as they came, was he compelled to answer that he had no British troops to spare.

On the 4th of October, a very spirited affair took place with some rebellious Bheels at the village of Nandoor Singoleh, Kandeish; which, in spite of a brilliant display of gallantry on the part of the officer commanding the loyal force, in which he was admirably seconded by his men, terminated in the death of that officer, and without any satisfactory result to compensate for his loss. The idea of attacking a strong position, held by from four to five hundred men well armed, with a force, altogether, of thirty men of the police corps (of whom not more than twenty took part in the affray), could only have emanated from the highest degree of military enthusiasm, and justifies the lengthened details preserved in the subjoined documents. The first of these is a letter from the assistant-magistrate of Ahmednugur, to the political secretary to government (Bombay), dated "Nassick, October 6th, 1857;" in which he says—"I have the honour to forward the accompanying statements regarding the affair which took place the day before yesterday with the Bheels at Nandoor, and in which Lieutenant Henry, the superintendent of police, was unfortunately killed, while charging at the head of his men. From the accompanying statements, I think it is clear that, while every credit is due to the memory of the late Lieutenant Henry, for the gallant and determined way in which he led the attack, yet that the attack itself was, owing to the enormous superiority of the Bheels in point of numbers, and their strong position, a very ill-advised one. They were to the number of four to five hundred, armed with matchlocks and bows, posted on the top of a steep hill, surrounded by an abrupt scarp. They met our advance by a volley of some fifty shots, and by a shower of arrows. This strong position was, nevertheless, carried and cleared by Lieutenant Thatcher, supported by some fifteen men of the police corps.

"Lieutenant Henry was almost immediately shot down by two men; one shot passing through the lungs, and the other through both thighs. The Bheel who fired the second shot was killed by Lieutenant Thatcher. Both Lieutenant Thatcher and Mr. Taylor are united in their praises of the gallant way in which Lieutenant Henry fell in the execution of his duty. In him I have lost a highly valued friend; and the behaviour of the men of the police corps at his funeral, testified to the esteem in which he was held by them.

"Lieutenant Thatcher's conduct throughout, appears, to my humble judgment, to have been admirable. From the first, poor Lieutenant Henry underrated the strength and pluck of the enemy. Lieutenant Thatcher did all he could to persuade him to await the arrival of the reinforcements, which were daily expected from Poonah and Nugur. Finding his remonstrances of no avail, he placed himself by the side of Lieutenant Henry, and the two raced together up the hill. His subsequent behaviour was, I venture to think, as gallant as it was judicious. Lieutenant Thatcher spoke in the warmest terms of the spirit displayed by Mr. Taylor, the inspecting postmaster, and of the assistance he afforded him. He also mentions that Amut Buksh, the rissaldar of the Poonah horse, behaved with very great gallantry. He will bring to the notice of the police commissioner the several men of the corps who chiefly distinguished themselves. Out of probably some twenty men, who took a prominent part in the fight, four were wounded—two, I fear, very severely. No idea can be formed of the number of Bheels that were killed and wounded, as they were all carried off. Lieutenant Thatcher himself wounded two men, and he believes mortally.

"Up to the time of writing this, I have heard nothing further of the movements of the Bheels. I trust, therefore, that the attack of the day before yesterday may have cowed them. The reinforcements from Poonah have arrived, and those from Nugur will most likely arrive during the course of the day. The Bheels can, therefore, I think, never have such another opportunity for assembling so numerously.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"(Signed) F. S. CHAPMAN,

"First Assist. Magistrate of Ahmednuggur."

The paper referred to in the above, is a statement of Lieutenant Thatcher, assistant-superintendent of police; which ran as follows:—

"Lieutenant Henry arrived at 6 A.M. on the 4th instant. I had previously been at Nandoor with a party of thirty police, watching the enemy, who, to the number of between 200 and 250, were occupying a strong position in the hills. On the first day of my arrival at Nandoor, I sent off an express to the magistrate of Ahmednuggur, desiring a reinforcement of 150 men and two guns. I had previously heard that Lieutenant Carr was on his way to join

me with fifty men from Poonah. I had also sent in to Nassick, to the first assistant-magistrate, for more men; but as I had only left sufficient men there to carry on the duties of the place, I stated at the time that I did not expect him to be able to comply with my request. The above will show what appeared to me the necessity for reinforcements before commencing an attack.

"On the night of the 3rd instant, I made a night march on the village of Dappoor, in order to prevent the enemy from gaining the ghauts, and also with a view, when reinforcements arrived, to attacking them from higher ground. As I have before stated, Lieutenant Henry arrived at 6 A.M. on the morning of the 4th, and, of course, took the command. I gave him all the information I had as to the number of the enemy, who were then reported to be increased to 500, and to be posted in different positions. Lieutenant Henry appeared to treat my information lightly, and to think I had been imposed upon. My words to Lieutenant Henry were, to the best of my recollection, to this effect:—'Mr. Henry, you having arrived, of course have taken the command; but I warn you, we have not sufficient men to lick these fellows. My advice is to wait until reinforced by Mr. Carr and the Tannah party; and (pointing to a road above the hill) go and get above them.' His reply was, 'It is a d—hard case if we have not sufficient men to thrash all the Sinur Bheels.' Lieutenant Henry then called the mamlutdar and two foudjars, and told them to go to Ragojee, and say, 'Henry Saheb *aya*, and orders you to come to Nandoor Singoleh, on which village he is going to march now; if you have any petition to make, come and make it in a proper manner.' Henry told the officials to speak to Ragojee coolly, and tell him if he did not come quietly, he (Henry) would come and take him.

"At 7 A.M. we marched on Nandoor; and as we were going there, I pointed out to Henry the officials talking with Ragojee. Henry cantered up to them; and on this I turned round to Mr. Taylor, who was riding with me, and said, 'Henry's going will cause a fight; he had better leave the niggers (meaning the officials who were parleying with Ragojee) alone.' I halted the men under some trees, at a distance of about a mile from where parleying was going on. I did this by Henry's order. Shortly after a sowar galloped up, with

orders for me to advance. I brought the men up to Henry, and asked him how it (the conference) had ended. He said Ragojee had refused to come, and pointed me out a scarped hill, which he said we were to attack. He drew the men up in single file, and sent me with sowars to the left flank, to examine the enemy's position. I did so; and reported to him that no men were visible to the extreme left. I again pointed out my objections, in a military point of view, to attack at the proposed place, and showed him another spur of the hill of easy ascent; but it was in vain. Henry ordered the advance, and desired me to take the left, while he took the right of the line. We advanced, Henry and myself, on horseback. The position of the enemy was a most difficult one, being a high hill, with a scarped rock. On the top of the scarp, concealed amongst rocks and bushes, were numbers of matchlockmen. The first shot was fired by the enemy, and was evidently aimed at Henry. It missed him, and hit a man to rear of him. Lieutenant Henry, in a loud voice, ordered, 'Charge bayonets!' We rode together in advance of the men. At a distance of about forty yards the enemy gave us a tremendous volley. Finding we could ride no higher, we simultaneously dismounted. Henry drew his revolver, and I my sword. We both took off our hats, and cheered on the men, which was answered by a tremendous yell from our own men. We rushed to the top of the hill, together with about fourteen of our men, about twenty yards to my right rear. Henry pointed his revolver at a man, and I said, 'Your pistol is not cocked.' He put it down, staggered against me, and said, 'I'm hit in the shoulder, but never mind me; go on, old fellow.' He jumped up again; and, finding our pistols useless, we each took a musket from the men who had come up. We jumped on to the scarp, and pointed both our muskets at one man, who had evidently been watching the path. We went up; Henry again called out, 'Good God! I am hit again!' and fell. The man who fired this last shot was, I believe, shot by me just as Henry spoke. I knelt down by Henry, and asked him if he was mortally wounded. He said, 'Forward, old fellow—forward!' Seeing I could do no good, I pulled him out of the line of fire. I then, with fourteen or fifteen men, charged two of the hills on which the enemy were strongly posted, and made myself

master of the position. The fight, after this, lasted upwards of an hour, when Mr. Taylor sent me a message by a native officer that I was being outflanked. I retired leisurely, exchanging shot for shot with the enemy, until a great number of my men had exhausted their ammunition.

"On returning to Nandoor Singoleh, I broke up the remainder of my detachment, and strengthened the following treasuries:—1st, Neemohum; 2nd, Ankola; 3rd, Sinur. I had four men wounded; two, I fear, very seriously. I have no idea of the number of the enemy that were killed and wounded. I shot two myself, and, to the best of my belief, my men hit a great number. The behaviour of about half my detachment was admirable. I will make a nominal report of them. The rissaldar of the Poonah horse, in particular, behaved most gallantly. Armed with only a pistol, he tried to race in front of me. The remaining half of the detachment did not come under my observation. Having only such a few men left, I considered it my duty to detach them, as before stated, and not make any further attack. Before concluding this statement, I feel it only due to myself to state, that the attack was made against overwhelming numbers; that I strongly dissuaded Lieutenant Henry from making it, and that the position of the enemy, in a military point of view, was as strong as could be conceived. I beg to state that I received great assistance from Mr. Taylor, inspecting postmaster in the Deccan, not only in his duties as postmaster, but also by his gallant bearing throughout this fight. I beg to refer to him for a corroboration of what I have stated.

"(Signed) TORIN THATCHER,

"Assistant Superintendent of Police."

The following is the statement of Alexander Law Taylor, Esq., inspecting postmaster in the Deccan, regarding the fight with the Bheels in front of the village of Nandoor Singoleh, on the 4th October:—On Friday, the 2nd, whilst at Sungumnair, on a tour of inspection, I heard that the Bheels had risen. The same evening, I heard that Lieutenant Thatcher was in the neighbourhood, and went and joined him. I was present yesterday when Lieutenant Henry arrived. I overheard their conversation; and from the tenor, am of opinion that Lieutenant Henry viewed the matter lightly. Lieutenant Thatcher, on the other hand, remonstrated, and said he thought it not safe to attack with so few men. Lieutenant

Henry said the force was quite sufficient to take double the number of the enemy; that it was a pity they had not been attacked before; and that he would lay anything not a shot would be exchanged. I, too, asked Lieutenant Henry whether he thought it judicious to attack, with so few men, such a difficult and strong position? He said, 'Yes; they will run like dogs.' Just before the assault, Lieutenant Thatcher again remonstrated, and proposed to attack by an easier ascent, and from one that afforded a more commanding position.

"When the assault took place, I was to the rear of the men, about their centre. I was about twenty yards from Lieutenant Henry when he received his second wound. I ran up to him, and found him insensible. I gave him some water, which revived him. He opened his eyes, and said, 'I'm all right now—forward.' I left him, to follow up the attack, which was being led by Lieutenant Thatcher, who was about fifty yards in front of me with about twelve men. I perceived a flank movement of the enemy to cut off Lieutenant Thatcher from where I was. I immediately dispatched the rissaldar, who was on foot, to warn him of his danger, and beg of him to retreat, which he did, disputing every foot of ground, and exchanging shot for shot. After dispatching the rissaldar, I returned to Henry, and ordered him to be removed, which was done: as soon as he was removed, he put his hand to his chest, and said he felt pain, and asked for water, which I gave him. I knew he was dying—put my ear to his mouth, and tried to catch the words he uttered, but could not. I fancied I heard him utter the name of some female; but could not catch it distinctly.

"About one-half of the armed police behaved right well; the remainder were below. When the order to charge was given, Henry and Thatcher raced with each other up the hill, cheering on the men. When the former was hit, the latter was almost touching him. There were, in all, four of our men wounded, two of whom fell by my side, severely wounded. There appeared to be between 450 and 500 of the enemy. The first volley fired was from a good fifty muskets. I counted only one of the enemy severely wounded; he had been hit by Thatcher. I can form no idea as to how many of the enemy were hit, as the wounded were dragged away. The enemy's position was completely carried. I have read Lieutenant

Thatcher's statement, and most fully concur in the version he has given.

"(Signed) A. L. TAYLOR,
"Officiating Inspecting Postmaster, Deccan."

Resolution of Government.

"The right honourable the governor in council has received, with the deepest regret, the melancholy intelligence of the death of Lieutenant Henry, the superintendent of police at Ahmednuggur. This most able and gallant officer died in the zealous discharge of his duty. Undeterred by a severe wound, which he received while leading on his men, he still advanced; and when prostrated by a second and mortal wound, his word to those who tendered to him their aid, was, 'Forward!' The fate of one so young, so gallant, so energetic, will be mourned by all the services; and it will especially be deplored by the government which Lieutenant Henry served faithfully and devotedly.

"The right honourable the governor in council directs that the thanks of government be communicated to Lieutenant Thatcher, for the gallantry so conspicuously exhibited by him on this melancholy occasion. The right honourable the governor in council also considers that Mr. Taylor, the inspecting postmaster in the Deccan, and Amut Buksh, rissaldar of the Poonah horse, are deserving of the high commendation of government, for their gallant conduct on the 4th inst. Mr. Chapman should be informed that his further report will be awaited."

Immediately upon this affair being reported at head-quarters, the 26th regiment of native infantry was dispatched to Nandoor Sinur by rail, for the purpose of dispersing the rebels: the report current respecting whom was then as follows:—

"Sinur is surrounded by about 1,500 Bheels, with matchlocks and swords, and their women armed with bows and arrows, and quite naked. Another body of them have taken up a position on the top of a higher hill than that occupied by them when Lieutenant Henry charged them, and about eight miles farther on towards Bombay. The Bheels of the town of Sinur, before joining their comrades, removed all their property, and set fire to their houses. The leader of the band was a naik in the Company's service, and had been dismissed and imprisoned for two years by Lieutenant Henry for misconduct. He gratified his desire for revenge by shooting the unfortu-

nate officer. From the strength of the position occupied by the Bheels, and their Amazonian wives, it was considered prudent to defer an attack upon them until the arrival of a further reinforcement."

About the second week in October, a plot was discovered among the sepoys of the marine battalion stationed in Bombay; having for its object the extermination of the Europeans, and the plunder of the place. It was proposed by the conspirators, that the three native regiments in garrison should each take a separate district, and, on the last night of the Mohurram, rise and commence the massacre; they were then to plunder the treasury, &c., and depart northward, to join the mutinous forces in Oude and Bengal. Fortunately, the superintendent of police (a Mr. Forgett) had obtained some information of the project, and, without causing alarm by a premature disclosure, waited quietly till the proper hour for action had arrived, and then seized the whole of the ringleaders without difficulty. Two of the most active of the traitors were an havildar of the marines and a private of the 10th native infantry; and of these men it was determined to make an immediate example. They were tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be blown from guns; and on the 15th of October the sentence was carried into execution. An eye-witness of the terrible scene has thus described the proceedings:—

"The men of the marine battalion, and of the 10th regiment, were paraded upon the ground, with their arms, but without ammunition; and the guns were so placed as to sweep them down if they should make any effort to rescue their guilty comrades. A strong guard of the 95th Europeans covered the guns, and faced the native regiments. Two guns (from which the prisoners were to be blown) were placed in the centre of the space between the two forces, with portfires lighted; and the troops having taken their ground, the prisoners were marched into the area, under a guard of the 95th regiment. After a delay of some minutes, the preparations were completed, and the artillery and Europeans were ordered to load. The sentence of the court was then read to the prisoners. The man belonging to the 10th regiment (a Bengalee) was terribly affected, and begged piteously for his life. The other (a Mohammedan) was much firmer; but although he tried to look bold, and threw into his face a look of defiance and thirst for vengeance, his

quivering lip showed he, too, was shaken. The poor wretches were stripped of their uniform, and marched up to the guns, and, with their backs to the muzzles, were lashed to the wheels. It was a terrible sight, after the men who had bound them withdrew, to see the poor creatures thus bound to the guns—living men, in another minute to be in eternity. The suspense was sickening, but it did not last long. ‘Ready—fire!’—an explosion, a cloud of smoke, a shower of undistinguishable fragments tossed above and around the guns, and all was over. I was at a little distance, and my feelings were much less terrible than I expected; but those who were nearer, and beside whom the ghastly fragments fell, said it was very dreadful. It is not a pleasant subject to enlarge upon. After a few minutes the native troops were marched back to their quarters; and as they passed off the ground, the guns were brought round, so as always to bear on them in case they might, in a fit of desperation, attempt a retaliation. All, however, went off quietly. The sepoys, as they marched away, cast furtive, frightened glances at the guns pointed so ominously at them; but they marched on steadily.”

After this example, the trials of some other prisoners followed, and for several days the place of execution continued to be resorted to. The native troops were agitated by rage and fear; but it was only by sullen looks they dared express the feelings that, but for the extraordinary watchfulness of the authorities, would probably have broken out into maddening excitement and pitiless revenge.

The condition of Rajpootana, during the period just referred to, was very far from satisfactory; and, for some time, the town of Neemuch appeared to be one of the centres around which the rebels gathered from all quarters; the consequence being, that the surrounding districts were in a continual state of alarm and uncertainty.

The town of Mundissore, about twenty-four miles from Neemuch, had revolted from the rule of Scindia, and raised the green flag of the prophet, to show its defiance of British power. The English mails were stopped at this place, and the letters and papers wantonly destroyed. The town, also, was fortified by the rebels, who had thirteen guns mounted on the walls. Recruits were encouraged from the mutinous bands straggling about the country, and heavy bribes were offered to the native

troops at Neemuch to join the rebel force. This state of things, of course, could not be tolerated; but, while making preparations to dispatch troops for the recovery of Mundissore, a difficulty presented itself in another direction, that required instant attention. The town of Nimbhaira, situated about sixteen miles distant from Neemuch, on the high-road to Nusseerabad, was in the possession of a host of rebels, paid by the nawab of Tonk, who had declared against the British government. The place was walled round, and had a considerable number of guns mounted for its defence; but it was necessary the rebels should be displaced, and the town restored to obedience. A force, consisting of seventy men of her majesty’s 83rd regiment, eighty men of the Bombay 12th native infantry, and 150 men of the 2nd Bombay cavalry, with two 9-pounders and a mortar (the whole under the command of Colonel Jackson, of the 2nd Bombay light cavalry), was dispatched from Neemuch, for the purpose of expelling the rebel force from Nimbhaira. The following account of the attack and capture is from the pen of an officer engaged in the affair; who writes thus:—

“The force, as above, arrived on their ground at about nine o’clock A.M., on the morning of the 20th of October. They halted on the bank of a river which lay between them and the town, at about 700 yards’ distance from its walls. A party first went forward, calling on the town to surrender and deliver up all arms. The Ameer, or representative of the Tonk nawab, came forth from the gates and agreed to surrender, but begged an hour’s time for the arms to be given up. Slowly a few ragged-looking warriors came outside the gates, and placed some weapons on the ground; but it was evident, that whatever might have been their chief’s ideas, they were loth to give up their means of defence; for an hour passed, and they had only given up a few guns and pistols of British make—plunder which had evidently been taken at the late mutiny at Neemuch. One half-hour more was allowed, and then a herald went into the town and proclaimed, that if a complete surrender of arms were not effected in a quarter of an hour, the town should be attacked. The herald was made mincemeat of within the walls. British troops were not to be treated thus; so ‘whish’ went a shell from our side into the midst of the town, and hostilities began. The cavalry hemmed the enemy in at the gates. The 9-pounders were drawn up within 500 yards of the town, the infantry within 100 yards—whence they commenced a rattling fire at all heads that appeared above the walls; and now there was warm work on both sides. The enemy returned our fire well, but were careful in concealing their persons. The fire of musketry and matchlocks through the loopholes was tremendous; but aim appeared to be a thing of little importance, or our loss would have been severe. From half-past one to half-past five this work was continued; but the

stubborn gates remained firm, and little or no impression was made upon the walls. Then the guns advanced through deep mud, under a galling fire, to within about 100 yards of the walls, where our infantry had been keeping up a continued fire of musketry from the beginning of the fight.

"Our plan now was to blow up the gates, make a breach, if possible, in the walls, and take the town by assault with the whole of the infantry, and a party of dismounted Bombay cavalry—the party to be led by Colonel Jackson, commanding the force. Everything was in preparation; Sergeant Taylor had the bag of powder on his shoulder to blow up the gate, and was ready for a run. Her majesty's 83rd had been told-off as coolly and steadily as if for parade, and every one was worked up to the highest pitch of eagerness and excitement, when, lo! our hopes were doomed to be disappointed; the order was passed that, evening coming on, the troops were to retire; and most slowly and unwillingly they fell back. Nothing could exceed the bravery of all the troops; the 12th native infantry, firm as a rock, caring nothing for the balls that flew like hailstones around them, were only eager that our own 83rd—who, of course, behaved as British soldiers do—should not be before them on the walls. In the action, one corporal of the 83rd was killed within thirty yards of the fort. Dr. Miles, 83rd foot, was severely wounded; and an officer, Mr. Charles Burton, of the officers' volunteer corps, was slightly wounded; fifty of the cavalry had volunteered their services to dismount and join in the assault; and one jemadar (or native subaltern officer), who was bravely advancing to the walls, was shot through the liver, and now lies in a dangerous state; seventeen men of all ranks were wounded. The troops, when they went out of action, had tasted no food since the day before, and now they were too tired to eat; they slept on the damp ground, on which the rain had fallen heavily that day, with no tent or covering of any sort over them. The gallantry of the native troops on this occasion, afforded us, their officers, peculiar gratification, as the previous mutinous behaviour of some of the men (all of whom we hope are captured now, or have fled not to return) had cast a stigma on the two corps as a body, which we were only too glad to see their bravery and loyalty this day wipe out.

"In the morning the commandant of the force received intelligence that our brave enemy had deserted the fort—a contingency we could hardly have prevented with our small force, and mud up to the horses' knees all round the fort. The end seems a poor one after the high hopes that had been entertained by the force, and considering the facility with which, with another hour's daylight on the previous evening, they might have triumphantly stormed and cut their way into the town; many were the lamentations among the British soldiers

that they had been robbed of a chance of avenging the horrible murders of their countrymen and countrywomen. Any native is fair game to a British soldier now; he takes him as the representative of the Bengal sepoy as a race. But our political point was gained. The troops walked quietly in, the British flag was erected on the principal building, and Nimbhaira, and the territory of which it is the principal town, is now British property, to yield the government a revenue of £2,000 per annum. The individual who cut up our herald, or messenger, into little pieces, has been captured and blown away from a gun."

At Kurrachee,* the chief port of Scinde (situated about 105 miles east of Hyderabad), a design of the 21st regiment of Bombay native infantry, to revolt and massacre the Europeans, was happily frustrated under the following circumstances:—About eleven o'clock on the night of the 14th of September, two of the native officers of the regiment reported to Major M'Gregor, the commanding officer, that they had overheard some sepoys declare, that at twelve o'clock the same night the whole corps were to rise, and loot the treasury, murder their officers, and make off for Hyderabad. The major at once mounted his horse, and rode quickly to the town, where he communicated the report to the authorities. The 2nd European light infantry immediately fell-in under their commanding officer, Colonel Stiles; and the first step taken by him was to strengthen the mess-guard, and order all the ladies of the station to rendezvous there—the soldiers' wives and children being protected at the quarter-guard of the regiment: a strong guard was dispatched to the collector's treasury; and the remainder of the regiment (about 200 strong) marched down, with Major Blake's troop of horse artillery, to the rear of the lines of the 21st regiment. Having wheeled into line opposite the parade-ground, with half the troop on either flank (loaded with canister), the "assembly" was sounded, and the men of the 21st regiment, taken by surprise, had no choice but to obey the order to fall-in at quarter-distance column. The roll was then called, and twenty-seven men were absent,

* The seaport of Kurrachee (or Corachie) is situated near the western extremity of the coast, in lat. 24° 51' N., long. 67° 2' E., near the base of the southern extremity of the Pabb, or Brahoie mountains, on a level space intervening between them and the sea; and is the only port in Scinde for vessels drawing more than ten feet of water. The port is protected from bad weather by Munorah, a bluff rocky headland leaving a space of about two miles between the extreme point and the coast to the east. On the promontory of Munorah, which is about 150 feet in height, a fort was built in 1797.

The position of this fort was thought to be such as to be unassailable by shipping; while, on the other hand, musketry from the rocks could clear the decks of an enemy. In 1839, however, the fallacy of this opinion was shown; as in one hour, the fire of the *Wellesley*, of 74 guns, dismantled the fort, and it was immediately occupied by British troops. The country from Kurrachee to the coast is very low; and when the snows melt, and the rains fall in the remote mountains of the north, it is flooded by the Indus. The estimated population of the town is about 16,000.

having decamped with their loaded muskets. This scrutiny having been perfected, the whole were ordered to pile arms, and file away on the reverse flank, to a distance of about fifty yards. The 2nd Europeans and artillery then took up a position between the arms and the regiment; and the men of the latter were ordered to take off their belts. Their lines were then searched, and all swords, fire-arms, and ammunition were taken away; the muskets and belts, being in the meantime piled on commissariat carts, were taken under guard to the arsenal, and there deposited. Several of the muskets were found loaded with ball. The 21st was then formed in close column, when they were addressed by General Scott, who called upon the good soldiers of the corps to come forward and assist their officers in finding out the traitors who disgraced the regiment, and, by that means, to keep up the good name it had always hitherto maintained. The regiment was then dismissed, and the Europeans and horse artillery marched back to their barracks, which they reached about 5 A.M. Several of the ringleaders in the plot so fortunately counteracted but an hour before it was to have been carried out, were secured within a few hours, and lodged in the quarter-guard of the 2nd regiment. A court-martial was assembled on the 16th, for the trial of the prisoners; which closed its proceedings on the following day, at half-past four o'clock, previous to which a large gallows was erected in front of the 21st lines. Very soon after the time mentioned, the four companies of the 2nd European regiment arrived on the ground, followed by the prisoners who had been condemned, in gharries, escorted by a strong guard; the disarmed men of the 21st regiment followed the execution party, and, after them, marched the 14th native infantry and the horse artillery.

The prisoners were then taken out of the gharries, and their names called over by the brigade-major; and the first seven, who were sentenced to be hung, and three others condemned to be blown away, were marched to the rear of the gallows, between their late regiment and that erection. The proceedings of the court-martial, and the sentence, were then read in English by the brigade-major, and translated into the native tongue by Major Goldsmid. The seven prisoners for the scaffold were then marched up its steps, which they ascended without hesitation, or requiring assistance. One man

only spoke when on the drop. He stated it was his first offence, and it was no use hanging him; he had done fourteen years *nokrie*. The ropes being adjusted, the culprits were faced about to meet the gaze of their late corps: after some little delay, the signal was given, and, in a few moments, the forfeit of their treason was paid.

It was now found that, on account of the confined range, the execution from the mouth of the guns could not be carried into effect in the square, where the scaffold was still bearing its fruit. The brigade was, consequently, moved off to the plain between the sappers' lines, and there the three guns were unlimbered, and the prisoners sentenced to be blown away, met their terrible doom in silence.

Upon the occurrence of the night of the 14th becoming known, the European community was entirely taken by surprise, as not the slightest suspicions had been entertained of an ill-feeling among the native troops. Precautionary measures were, of course, instantly resorted to for protection, in case of any further indications of danger; and the public were apprised that the arsenal was appointed as a place of general rendezvous, if circumstances should require them to vacate their homes. All the males at the station, of proper age, were also enrolled as a volunteer corps, for the purpose of acting as mounted patrols every night, so as to relieve the European troops from that duty, and preserve them in a state of efficiency in case of a serious outbreak. The following considerate order was issued upon the occasion:—

“(Circular.) Kurrachee, Sept. 16th.

“By desire of Major-general Scott, C.B., commanding the division, all able-bodied non-military men possessing a horse and arms, and willing to volunteer for patrol duties in and about the station, are invited to report themselves to Major Goldsmid, or to Captain Johnstone, who will give them instructions regarding the duty to be performed.

“It is suggested that, for the present, none should offer themselves who have family ties which render it a primary duty to remain at home and protect their household.

“(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,
“Commissioner in Scinde.”

A close search for other of the traitors than those executed, was kept up for several days; and of forty-three who were seized,

fourteen were hanged, three killed in the attempt to escape, four were blown away from guns, and twenty-two were transported. The twenty-seven absentees at roll-call were nearly all apprehended in the neighbourhood, and were also summarily disposed of.

The following communication from a European resident at Kurrachee, gives a lively idea of the incidents connected with this affair. The writer, dating September 17th, says—

"Now that the danger is over, we can well afford to laugh at our fears. The alarm was heard between eleven and twelve o'clock, and the noise and bustle in the camp was prodigious; parties were rushing from house to house, rousing the inmates, and directing them to proceed with all haste to the 2nd European regiment mess-house. Within a few minutes the streets were filled with Europeans, sick ladies in chairs, some in carriages, others on foot; equestrians galloping about in all directions; gentlemen on foot, leading their female relatives and friends to the mess-house. One gentleman, living a short distance, for whom a gharry had been sent by a friend, bundled his wife and children into the gharry, seized a couple of coats and trowsers to stand a week's siege, and jumped into the gharry in drawers and slippers. The shock he has received, I hear, has laid him up with an attack of nervous fever. Parties on the road were making anxious inquiries as to the whereabouts of the mutineers; the sound of a horse's hoofs would send the timid, for protection, under a bridge, or behind a lamp-post. The scene in the mess-house was worthy the pen of a Cruikshank. The ladies, God bless them! with the greatest resignation, were looking out with anxiety for the reports that were, at intervals, brought in of the progress of the disarming; and the gentlemen, some armed to the teeth, trudging about the verandah and doorways, looking daggers at the dark night which hid the mutineers from their fierce gaze. The work of loading and unloading of guns, the clicking of locks, and clashing of swords, gave confidence to the timid. Fortunately not a single fire-arm exploded, either by design or accident; for we do verily believe, that a single shot would have set the whole cantonment in a blaze, and the gentlemen in drawers into fits. The tramping of a horse, or the rattling of a gharry, called forth the cry of 'There they come.' The mess-house compound was also crowded with native men and women, chiefly servants of the parties in the mess-house. Almost every one possessed of jewels, silver ware, &c., had them in small bundles or boxes with them, and all appeared prepared for the worst.

"In another part of the camp (the commissariat lines), some of the residents went to the mess-house, others to the depôt, and others even so far as the second European hospital. We have heard of one family, consisting of twenty souls, who, on the first alarm, put out the light. The females and children covered themselves in their bedclothes; whilst the men kept a sharp look-out with their loaded pieces. But ladies would faint, and children would squall, in spite of all the appeals and threats of their friends; and the consequence was, that they were all obliged to proceed in a body to the quarter-guard of the

depôt, where they arrived just in time to be told that all was over. The women in the depôt were in a great state of excitement; but Captain Herne and others were moving amongst them, and affording every consolation to dispel their fears.

"Those near the artillery lines rushed into the barracks; the convalescent sick were all armed and turned out. The Suddur Bazaar was as quiet as could be wished: the Parsees, to their credit be it said, were mostly all in their own houses; each shop had twenty or thirty individuals, armed with guns, pistols, and swords; and woe betide the mutineers if they came across them. Scarcely a single native was to be seen moving about. The tops of several houses were covered with inmates, and with muzzles of guns pointed to the streets; but the moment a horseman was heard approaching, the heads would disappear. In one house a person was seen at a window with his gun levelled to the road, and immediately behind him was a table with a candle burning—a beautiful target for a pot-shot.

"Almost every European's house in the camp was deserted, and the evil-disposed had a capital opportunity of enriching themselves; but, fortunately, the police were on the alert; and as the mutineers would not commence the row, the camp was saved from being sacked and plundered."

Another correspondent, dating from Kurrachee, October 12th, writes thus:—

"We have had difficulties in our garrisons all over Scinde, owing to want of more European soldiers. The panic of — was beyond belief, and he would have denuded Scinde of defence had his requisitions all been available; but great caution became obviously necessary here when the various native regiments perceived our weak European resources. Instructions of the general have been admirably carried out; and at the three large stations in Scinde (Shirkapore on the frontier, Hyderabad on the Indus, and Kurrachee on the coast), mutiny has been arrested just in time—and only just; for at Kurrachee, on the night of the 13th of September (when the 21st native infantry were discovered partially under arms), had not our little army, and the general with it, been down on the 21st native infantry lines at midnight, this whole station, in half-an-hour more, was to have been a scene of mutiny and outrage from end to end.

"The intention of the rebel portion of the 21st was to rob the treasury during the confusion of the hour (on a remarkably dark night), and to carry money and arms to their disarmed friends at Hyderabad, where, about a week before, the artillery affair had flared up, and our good Brigadier Morris had run the guns into Hyderabad fort before the men could get at them. Shirkapore is where Captain Merewether now commands part of the Scinde horse, and General Scott had sent some artillery to strengthen that garrison. There were at Kurrachee a few guns, to the use of which some of the Europeans had been for a few weeks' training—a measure which was of material benefit at the crisis. Ladies may blunder in attempting any detail of means adopted for defence: but, as India now is, their grateful hearts should be the first to render thanks to a great and good Providence for watching over Scinde; and many hearts will pray for blessings on all the authorities, and on our general.

"The Shirkapore mutiny was the last to occur, and its spirit had been somewhat checked by the

dire examples made of the rebels here, and the utter defeat of the plot at Hyderabad—a plot which, at the latter place, had commenced, and if carried out, would have united the 21st native infantry here with the artillery mutineers at Hyderabad and at Shirkapore, and then the robber tribes on the frontier, with innumerable horse, would have come down to join the insurgents. The chiefs of these horse warriors are mentioned by Sir C. Napier, ‘Anee Khan,’ and ‘Dhil Morad.’ They now have the honour of being our prisoners, on board the ship *Feroze*, on a voyage to Bombay, as the orders were to send them there.

“It is impossible not to wonder, in our rejoicing, at the manner in which Scinde has hitherto been held with dignity; and we pray to preserve it so—all the more easily when more Queen’s regiments are at the general’s disposal. He seems particularly to congratulate himself upon the circumstance of the insurgent attempts in his division being decidedly thwarted without shedding European blood. Not one drop has flowed in Scinde. Yet it has been necessary to make summary examples of rebels convicted under courts-martial, who have been executed on parade in the presence of the general.”

KOTAH,* a frontier town of importance, on the Chumbul, in the territory of Scindia, was the next to furnish its contribution to the aggregate of crime and cruelty. On the 13th of October, it happened that the political agent at Kotah (Major Burton), who had been for some time absent at Neemuch with his family, returned to his official residence, accompanied by two of his sons—aged, respectively, nineteen and twenty-one; but, fortunately, leaving the females and younger members of his family with their friends at Neemuch. His reception by the rajah was courteous, and the usual ceremonial visits were duly exchanged on the 14th—not the slightest ground appearing to warrant a suspicion of evil; but, at noon on the following day, information was conveyed to him, that two regiments of the maharajah’s contingent had mutinied. Upon the heels of this unwelcome intelligence, the troops appeared before the residency, exclaiming that the major must be destroyed; and they forthwith made an attack upon the building, which they set fire to. The unfortunate gentleman, with his two sons, defended themselves as long as it was possible for them to do so, against the overwhelming odds that surrounded them; but were ultimately overpowered and murdered. The premises were then plundered, and the bodies of the victims were exposed for the gratification of the rabble of the

place. In the midst of this deplorable work, the rajah of Kotah continued to profess fidelity to the Company’s government; but he was powerless to resist the excitement of his troops, the bulk of whom, consisting of four regiments of infantry, and the whole of his artillery, had revolted, and proposed to march to Delhi, to assist in the establishment of the king, as not any of them would credit the news of the capture of the city, or that the prospect of a restoration of the Mogul empire had vanished for ever.

Some interesting particulars relative to the death of Major Burton and his sons, are furnished in the following statement, drawn up by one of his surviving children at Neemuch:—

“Major Charles Burton, political agent of Kotah, and his two youngest sons—fine, brave, spirited boys, between the ages of nineteen and twenty-one—have met with a tragical fate at Kotah, having been attacked suddenly, without one moment’s warning, by a couple of regiments of the maharajah, cavalry and infantry, who revolted, and, dividing into several parties, surrounded the agency-house almost in a few moments. The political agent was himself the first to discover their approach; and, as he had only returned to Kotah three days previously from an absence of four months, he believed the number of people he saw advancing merely to be some of the chief subordinates coming to pay him the usual visit of ceremony and respect. In a second he was cruelly undeceived; the mutineers rushed into the house; the servants, both private and public, abandoned him with only one exception (a camel-driver); and the agent, his boys, and this one solitary servant, fled to the top of the house for safety, snatching up such few arms as were within their reach—the fiends pursuing; but the cowardly ruffians were driven back for the time by the youngest boy shooting one in the thigh. When there, they naturally hoped the agency servants or their own would have returned with assistance from the chief; but no—all fled, and no help came. In the meantime, the mutineers proceeded to loot the house; and the besieged saw from their position all their property carried away. A little while, and two guns were brought to play upon the bungalow, the upper part of which caught fire from the lighted sticks which the miscreants from time to time threw up. Balls fell around them, the little room at the top fell in, and they were yet unhurt—and this for five long and weary hours. Major Burton wished to parley with the mutineers, in the hope that they would be contented if he gave himself up, and might permit his boys to escape; but the latter would not allow of such a sacrifice for their sakes, and, like brave men and good Christians, they all knelt down and uttered their last prayer to that God who will surely avenge their cause. All now seemed comparatively quiet,

* Kotah was formerly a part of the Boondoe principality; but circumstances have brought it into alliance with British rule. It is situated on the great route from Hindostan to the Deccan, and

possesses the noted pass of Makundra. The revenue of the district is estimated at twenty-five lacs of rupees. The capital is a large walled town, containing many handsome public buildings of stone.

and they began to hope the danger over, and let down the one servant, who was still with them, on a mission to the Sikh soldiers and officers, who were placed by the chief round the bungalow, for the personal protection of the agent (and of whom, at the time, there were not less than 140), to beg of them to loosen the boat, that an escape might be attempted across the river. They said, 'We have had no orders.' At this moment a shot from a pistol was fired. Scaling-ladders had been obtained—the murderers ascended the walls, and the father and his sons were at one fell stroke destroyed.

"There is every reason to believe that many, if not all, of the agency establishment were well aware that an attack was to be made. It is to be hoped that no worse feeling than that of cowardly fear kept their tongues tied. Assistance might have been sent from the chief. A gun fired from the city walls would have dispersed the whole cowardly mob; but it is said that the rajah was forcibly kept in his palace by the people of the city, who were in fear for their own lives and property. It is also said that the magazine had fallen into the hands of the mutineers, and that others in the city were revolting; but no authentic intelligence has as yet reached the authorities here on that head. The maharajah was enabled to recover the bodies of the agent and both his sons in the evening, and they were carefully buried by his order. Dr. Salder's house was attacked at the same time with the agency-house. He was cut down outside, in sight of the agent; as was also Mr. Saviell, the doctor of the dispensary in the city; and one or two others whose names are not certain.

"No cause whatever can be assigned for this outrage. Major Burton was beloved by every one—by the chief especially. He had lived there thirteen years, and led a life of peace and usefulness. No dispute, no quarrel, had ever existed between himself or any of the natives, and he had hastened his return by some ten days at the chief's own request, as he wished to see not only himself, but all his family back again. Major Burton's absence was caused, in the first place, by his presence being required with the Kotah troops at Neemuch, by the officer commanding at that station; and when, in July, the services of the Kotah soldiery were dispensed with, the agent remained for the two months at Neemuch; he left that station on the 7th of October—arrived at Kotah on the 13th—was received by the chief with every kindness—paid and returned the usual ceremonious visit—found all quiet, and apparently peaceful and happy—and was cruelly murdered on the 15th of October, 1857."

The mutiny of a portion of the 32nd regiment of Bengal native infantry, is detailed in a communication from Bhaugulpore, dated October the 18th. It appears that two companies of the regiment, with two officers, stationed at Deoghur, in the Santhal district, were paraded on the morning of the 9th of October, preparatory to a change of quarters at Maunbhoom. There had been no appearance of discontent among the men, nor had the officers (Lieutenants Cooper and Rennie) any suspicion that their men were other than good

and loyal soldiers, until, upon the appearance of Lieutenant Cooper on the parade, a shot was discharged at him by one of the sepoys, whose aim was foiled by one of his comrades throwing a cap in the fellow's face at the moment he pointed his musket. Lieutenant Cooper immediately left the ground, and meeting his brother officer, they proceeded together to the bungalow of Mr. Ronald, the magistrate, who had heard the report of the gun, and had jestingly remarked to Mr. G. H. Grant (a gentleman residing with him), that the mutiny had commenced. He had scarcely uttered the words, when the servants rushed into the room, and declared that the sepoys were approaching. Lieutenant Rennie, who seems to have been a favourite with his men, was saved by two havildars, who thrust him into a native marriage-dhooly, and so conveyed him uninjured to Bhaugulpore. Mr. Grant also managed to escape—the other gentleman remaining in the house, which by this time was surrounded and fired by the mutineers. The officers were then sought for; and Lieutenant Cooper being first discovered, was shot down, and afterwards frightfully mutilated. Mr. Ronald was first wounded in the leg only, and begged very hard for his life; but the remorseless ruffians said to him—"No! If we spare you, you will be the first to hang us by-and-bye." They then gave him the *coup-de-grace*, actually riddling his body with their bullets. They finished the atrocious work by setting fire to his clothes; and, thrusting a bayonet through him, pinned his body to the ground. Neither of these victims were suffered to be removed from the spot; and, during the ensuing night, the bodies were partly eaten by jackals. Their remains were afterwards collected, and buried by a native servant. Mr. Grant, after leaving the place, was two days without food; but on the third he reached a village, where he obtained some parched grain and milk, and learned that his *khitmutgur* (servant) was also there, hiding from the sepoys. Grant sent for the man, and by his aid obtained a dhooly, as he was now unable to walk, having a severe wound in the sole of one of his feet. He had only his night-clothes on, and was without shoes or socks. Having been placed in a covered dhooly, he travelled from this village as the *khitmutgur*'s wife; and, taking a circuitous route, at length reached the station at Bhaugulpore in safety.

While a portion of the 32nd regiment were thus employed in mutiny and murder, two other companies were *en route* from Burhait to Soorie; while the head-quarters' companies were at Bowsee. Upon intelligence of the outbreak reaching Calcutta, it was deemed necessary to ascertain the temper of the men at the stations just named; but, pending the inquiry, orders were given to dispatch a wing of her majesty's 13th foot from Calcutta to the Santhal district, to control the mutineers. Major English, who was then under orders to proceed to the Upper Provinces with a detachment of the 53rd foot, was thereupon countermanded, and directed to assist in pacifying the district before pursuing his upward journey. The result of the inquiry into the state of the remainder of the 32nd regiment, merely proved that its loyalty was in a stage of transition, since, although they remained obedient to their officers for a short time after the defection of their comrades, they ultimately followed their steps, and, throwing themselves into the whirlpool of rebellion, were hopelessly lost.

The two companies from Deoghur, after their successful exploit, were fortunate enough, by a rapid movement, to cross the Soane river without obstruction, intending to form a junction with the rebel force under Koer Sing, and the Dinapore mutineers—an object they accomplished in spite of the most strenuous efforts of Major English and a portion of the 53rd regiment, dispatched to intercept them.

By the latter end of October, the whole of the Rohilcund territory was in the hands of the leaders of the revolt; who, growing bold by their success, dispatched a force of upwards of 5,000 men, with some guns, to blockade the passes that led to Mynee Tal—a hill station of favourable repute among the Europeans in Bengal and adjacent provinces. The movement occasioned indescribable alarm among the valetudinarian residents of the Sanatorium; but fortunately, the design was frustrated by the prompt action of a body of 300 men of the 8th irregular cavalry, under Major Ramsay; who, by a spirited attack, drove the rebels from the positions they had taken, and compelled them to retreat hastily from the neighbourhood. Three Ghoorka regiments were afterwards stationed for the protection of the district.

Anarchy now prevailed throughout almost every district of Central India; and the struggle to repossess it were fierce and contin-

uous. On the 27th of October, a small force, under Colonel Cotton, fell in with a division of the Indore mutineers at Futtehpore Sikree, and destroyed nearly the whole of them. On the 31st, the same officer reached Muttra, after cutting to pieces 150 of the rebels at the village of Begree, on his way. On the 30th, the town of Dhar was captured by Brigadier Stuart's column; who found, in the fort, between thirty and forty lacs of rupees. At Mehidpore, the fortune of war was adverse to the cause of loyalty and order; a force of 5,000 Rohillas, under Heera Sing (late a jemadar of the Nagpore cavalry), having attacked the place, which was defended by the Malwa contingent, on the morning of the 8th of November. The fight lasted nearly eight hours, when the enemy were about to retire, with the loss of their guns. At this moment, the Mussulman portion of the contingent raised the cry of "Deen!" and joined the rebels; thus turning the scale in the very grasp of victory. The slaughter then became general; and among the officers who fell in this treacherous struggle, were Captain Mills (commanding the infantry of the contingent), Dr. Carey, and Sergeants-major O'Connell and Manson. Major Timens, under an escort of some of the 2nd Gwalior contingent, escaped to Indore, where he was kindly received by Holkar; but his lady, who had her horse shot under her, was lost sight of during the conflict. The success thus obtained was not of long duration; as, on the 13th, the force under Brigadier Stuart fell in with the victorious rebels, and routed them with great loss. Upon this occasion, the 1st, 3rd, and 4th regiments of the Nizam's cavalry, in a brilliant charge, recaptured the guns and stores taken from the Malwa contingent.

Crossing Bengal, in a north-easterly direction, the progress of the insurrectionary fever may be traced, in September, to the borders of Assam—a district little heard of by Europeans, except in connection with the experimental growth of tea. Many of the sepoys of the 1st Assam battalion came from the neighbourhood of Arrah, and were related to the men of the 40th regiment that mutinied at Dinapore; while others of them were from the territory belonging to Koer Sing. When, therefore, the outbreak at Dinapore became known to the men of the 1st Assam battalion at Debroghur, they openly expressed their sympathy with the mutineers, and proffered their services to an ex-rajah, Poorundur

Sing, whom they promised to restore to the authority and state he had been deprived of by the English, on condition that he would put himself at their head; their intent being to massacre all the Christians in Assam, and then, after plundering the stations, to march to the assistance of their friends in Bengal. Upon the plot becoming known, most of the Europeans took refuge in the neighbouring station of Sebsaugor, where the church had been converted into a fortress, and was well stored with provisions; and there they awaited the arrival of succours from Calcutta; the only loyal troops in Assam at the time being a few Ghoorkas, under Major Haunay, at Debroghur. At this crisis, the Calcutta government had no soldiers to spare for Assam; but, to meet the exigency, a force of English seamen, who had been trained as gunners, were sent by a steamer up the Brahmaputra to Debroghur, to be employed as the local authorities should think desirable. The amphibious force consisted of a hundred armed sailors, having with them two 12-pounder guns, under the charge of Lieutenant Davies, of the Indian navy, and a Mr. Roberts (assistant to the chief magistrate.) The men selected were not of the royal navy, and were engaged for service as policemen; having, while employed at Calcutta, formed a very effective little artillery force for its defence, if required. Unfortunately, in dispatching the force, some misunderstanding occurred as to the place of its destination; the men concluding that they were warned for Dacca (a town many miles from the seat of apprehended danger), and for nowhere else; and, consequently, upon their arrival at Dacca, when they were ordered off to Assam, they positively refused to go. In this unlooked-for difficulty, Lieutenant Davies behaved with promptitude and firmness. He ordered out his own sailors and guns, and, surrounding the malcontents, at once informed them that no parleying could be allowed—go they must; and, if necessary, force would be used to compel obedience. The men then said they would go; but, at the same time, declared that they had been deceived, and that they would throw down their arms as soon as they reached their destination. However, their resentment at what they considered a trick put upon them, subsided on their way, and they arrived in Assam, where their appearance tended to preserve the tranquillity supposed to have been in danger.

To secure this permanently, it became indispensable that the rajah of Debroghur should be removed from the neighbourhood, which was agitated by his presence and the plots of his emissaries; and Captain Lowther, commanding a corps of Ghoorkas, was sent from another station to seize the person of the rajah, and send him, under guard, to Calcutta. This operation was successfully carried out. The palace was at a considerable distance from Debroghur; and while the owner of it was, as he thought, securely planning the means by which he would again be independent of English rule, a band of police and Ghoorkas, with Captain Lowther at their head, were quietly threading their way, by an unfrequented route, towards his stronghold. They had a long and weary march, from the evening to the dawn of the next day, across a jungly and marshy country, sometimes on elephants, then on foot, and then in boats. But they arrived at, and surrounded, the palace just before daybreak, while all within were fast asleep. They seized their prisoner, with his wives and a number of his followers, without firing a shot; took his guns and spiked them, and then cleared the palace, and a neighbouring bazaar, of everything that could be found in the shape of arms or correspondence. The party then left with their prisoners, followed, for some distance, by about 2,000 people, who, paralysed by their daring, did not offer to obstruct them. The whole got back to their boats by 10 p.m., and soon after reached Debroghur, utterly worn out by their arduous and well-conducted enterprise.

Captain Lowther relates the history of this night-razzia in a highly amusing letter, from which the following passages are extracted. Having reached the vicinity of the palace, he proceeds thus:—

“I told-off my men rapidly, and formed them into parties, so as completely to surround and cover every outlet and corner. The main party, consisting of my own particular sharpshooters and body-guard, watched the front; another moved towards the town, there to arrest an educated Bengalee, agent to the conspirators; another to the rear, to cut off escape towards the town; while my friend, the political, crept quietly past some outhouses with his police, and, under the palace walls, awaited my signal for opening the ball.

“Before long, the ominous barking of a disturbed cur, in the direction of the party

sent after the prime minister, proclaimed that no time was to be lost. Off I went towards the guard-shed in front of the palace; my personal sharpshooters following at the double. The noise, of course, awoke the sleeping guard, and, as they started up from their slumbers, I caught one firmly by the throat; and a little Ghoorka next me felled, with a butt-end blow, another of them while they were getting to arms—I having strictly forbidden my men to fire until obliged; the remainder, as we rushed in, took to flight, and my eager party wished to fire on them, which I prevented, not considering such valiant game worth powder and shot. In the darkness and confusion no means of entrance could at once be found. My police guide, however, having been often in the palace, knew every room in it, and, thrusting himself in at a door, acted ferret to perfection; and, by dint of activity, soon brought me into the presence of the rajah, who, though young in years, is old in sin. He refused to surrender, or admit any one—a resolution which cooled *instantly* on my calling my men to set fire to the palace. He then, with a bad grace, delivered up to me his state sword. A shout from the opposite doors proclaimed an entry there. The queen-mother, and the rest of the female royalty and attendants, were seized while trying to descend on that side. Then came a chorus of shouting and struggling, and bawling for lights and assistance; at last, a lamp being procured, we proceeded to examine the palace: we wandered in dark passages and cells; while I mounted a guard at every door. The air being confined and heated within the royal residence, I sat outside until after daybreak, and then proceeded to rummage for papers and letters: several boxes of these we appropriated, and counted out the rajah's treasure—all in gold vessels and ingots. We found a quantity of arms; spiked some guns—one of them of French make. All day we were hard at work, searching for, and translating, papers. The prime minister was found at his house fast asleep. In the heat of the afternoon we went to his residence in the town, and, by dint of keeping fans going over us, carried out a thorough search. We did not get as many of his papers as we wanted, he having been told by his correspondents to destroy all letters after reading them. At sunset I carried off my prisoners, over the same bad ground by which we had so stealthily arrived. We were followed by about 2,000

infuriated Mussulmans, crying, praying, and prostrating themselves before the object of their lingering hope of rebellion (the rajah); but we drove them off."

The decisive measures adopted in this quarter put an end, for the present, to any actual preparations for an outbreak. All was quiet; but every one felt that a volcano was burning beneath them, and they knew not the moment when its smouldering fires would burst into a devastating flame. To add to the sense of insecurity, not a single European soldier was at this time stationed throughout the province; and the *prestige* of Koer Sing was high in the ascendant among the people.

Returning to Bengal, we find the spirit of disaffection silently but surely extending its influence among the few native regiments that still preserved the appearance of fidelity, as well as over the populations in their immediate vicinity. Fortunately, at this time, the arrival of troops from Europe rendered the threatened danger less imminent, and enabled the government to act with greater decision and effect upon many of the points that had given grounds for uneasiness. Among these was the station at Berhampore, where the 63rd regiment of native infantry, and the 11th irregular cavalry, were in cantonments.

Her majesty's 90th regiment of light infantry arrived in India about the latter end of July, and were at once dispatched up the country, by way of Chinsurah and Berhampore. At the latter place the behaviour of the native troops had excited suspicion, and it was deemed advisable that the means of annoyance should be removed from their reach before actual mischief occurred; and, with this intent, the officer in command of the 90th, was ordered, upon his arrival at Berhampore, to disarm the suspected regiments. The *modus operandi* by which this was accomplished is stated by Colonel Campbell, the commandant, in the following letter from the station, dated August 2nd. He writes thus:—

"The 90th left the *Himalaya* steamer for Chinsurah in two boats towed by steamers—large covered vessels; and we remained six days at Chinsurah, and got on extremely well; no drunkenness, no sickness, and the regiment all I could wish, so clever and orderly. I implored them daily not to poison themselves with bad spirits, but to buy beer; and, during six days, I had only three cases of drunkenness in 800 men, and only four men sick, who came so from England. We have had no casualty since leaving England. I was hurried off from Chinsurah, and

embarked the regiment again in steamers' towing-boats, and we have been four days coming here. My instructions were to land here quietly and expeditiously, and to disarm the 63rd native infantry and the 11th irregular cavalry; to take also the horses of the latter; also to disarm some native artillery here. The total force considerably exceeded mine, with the additional advantage, on the native side, of 300 of the most splendid cavalry I ever saw: as regards men, horses, and equipments, I never saw anything equal to them. The regiment was landed by me 730 strong, and I ordered the commandant here, who is lieutenant-colonel of the 63rd native infantry, to parade the whole of the troops. He wished to put it off until to-day, but I would not grant an hour. The sepoy regiment came out on parade; I drew up the 90th opposite, and on one flank, and ordered them to lay down their arms; they obeyed, and I then ordered them to take off their belts, which was done; and having secured them in carts and upon elephants, I kept the regiment of sepoys standing upon parade until the 11th irregular cavalry came up; and they came from a distance of five miles off, not expecting to find an English regiment, but only a detachment of the 35th regiment, 180 strong, whom they were prepared to fight. Their commanding officer wished to put off the parade until to-day, the same as the others; but I refused. Fortunately I did, for not a man would have been here this morning; they would have gone off with horses, arms, and ammunition. They seemed thunderstruck when they discovered our men, and had no idea that their fine horses were to be taken from them: if they had thought so, they would have gone off in a body. They told the sepoys afterwards that they were cowards to give up their arms, and that if they had waited until they came up they would have fought us, but that my men were so placed they could not escape. The cavalry obeyed orders to lay down their arms, but with a much worse grace than the sepoys; they looked at each other, and then put them on the ground. I collected them, and found all the carbines and pistols loaded. I was standing opposite to them. I then ordered all the belts to be taken off, and this was not approved of; some broke their swords, others threw their pouches into the air, but still the order was obeyed. Having collected these, I surrounded them with my men, and ordered them to lead their horses off to a safe place I had selected for them, and where they were turned out loose. The men then pulled off their long jack-boots and spurs, and pitched them away. The regiment had not mutinied; but, no doubt, would have done so, and of course I treated them as a regiment having committed no crime. They are splendid men, but savage beyond expression. Their swords are like razors. The political agent there had no idea that we should have succeeded in getting this regiment together, and told me that we had done the best work in India since the outbreak. He has reported our valuable service to the government of India, and I have reported direct to the commander-in-chief. Had I delayed as requested until morning, not a man would have been found. We are steaming up the Ganges—the weather terribly hot—mosquitoes most barbarous—heavy rains. I have to disarm and dismount another irregular cavalry regiment in two days' time, if they have not already gone off. I want to come near some mutinous sepoys; they shall remember the women and children if I do."

Another letter, of the 3rd of August, affords a further view of the affair. The writer says:—

"Soon after our arrival at Berhampore, where we had landed about 800 strong on the 1st of August, we were joined by about 100 men of the Queen's 35th, and proceeded together to disarm the native troops in cantonments, some distance from the town. We marched out some three miles in the rain, over the midan at double-quick time. On nearing the sepoys' lines the 90th deployed into three columns, one extending well to the right so as to get into the rear of the lines, the second so as to outflank them on the left; the third and larger column extended so as to outflank them on their right, or to meet them in front. This movement exposed the two guns manned by the sailors. The *Jumna* was lying in position to shell them: the sepoys, at the first order given, piled their arms; the officers (native) were allowed to keep their side-arms. A company of the 90th disarmed the guards in and about the lines, and the 35th disarmed the guards at the treasuries. The cavalry showed strong symptoms of mutiny; and had it not been for the imposing force before them, I feel fully persuaded they would have fought. Numbers of their pistols which were picked up were loaded to the muzzle, and some even loaded on parade, so it is said. Many of them began throwing away their belts, &c., and some doubled up their swords, and threw them away; their mutinous conduct was soon put an end to, however, by the flank movement of a couple of companies of the 90th at the double. It was too late for them to do much, and so they submitted to the 90th, which enclosed them in the centre of a three-sided square, and marched them off to Berhampore, where the horses were confined in Hospital-square. At this the troopers became infuriated, but they were soon put down. They are a fine-looking set of men; as also were the 63rd; and all their appointments were in excellent order. The 63rd are nearly all Hindoos and Sikhs. The cavalry are from about Delhi and Benares—all Mussulmans; they have never agreed together, which I take to be the cause of the safety of Berhampore."

The effect of this prompt and decisive action was to suppress, effectually for a time, any tendencies that might have existed among the population at this place towards an outbreak; and the 90th regiment, having accomplished its first protective duty in Bengal, proceeded onwards to aid in the suppression of rebellion in other quarters.

During the months of September and October, the portion of Bengal north of the Ganges was almost entirely free from disturbance. Patna, in September, as at an earlier period, was disturbed rather by the anarchy that prevailed around it, than by mutinies within the place itself; its greatest difficulties arising in the districts north and north-west of the city, where the revenue collectors had been driven from place to place by mutinous sepoys and by petty chieftains, who desired to exalt themselves

upon the ruins of the English "raj." The abandonment of Goruekpore by the government officials, in a moment of alarm, had had the effect of exposing the Chuprah, Chumparun, and Mozufferpore districts to the attacks of rebels, especially such as had ranged themselves under the flag of the Mussulman chief, Mahomed Hussein Khan, who had declared himself "ruler, in the name and on behalf of the king of Oude." This individual had collected a considerable force, and had organised a species of government at Goruekpore, where he collected revenue, and exercised, for a time, supreme authority—no troops being available, for several weeks, to put an end to his arrogant power.

So far back as the month of June, the governor-general had accepted an offer of Jung Bahadoor, of Nepal, to send a considerable body of Nepaulese troops to the assistance of the Company's government; and, in consequence, 3,000 Ghoorkas were sent down from Khatmandoo, and entered the British territory northward of Goruekpore. But a very long time elapsed between the offer and the performance: the process of collecting them, at Khatmandoo and elsewhere, occupied several weeks; and it was not until the beginning of September that they reached Jounpore—a station in the very heart of the disturbed districts: and even then there was much delay in bringing them into active service; for the English officers appointed to command them, had yet to learn the difference of management required by Nepaulese Ghoorkas and Hindostani sepoys; and, moreover, had imbibed a prejudice against them, under the idea that they were incapable of rapid movement, and that their native officers were averse to the responsibility of independent action. But this impediment to their usefulness was not of long duration; and a smart affair, on the 20th of September, while it afforded the Ghoorkas an opportunity of showing their gallantry and activity, also contributed to impress the English officers with a due sense of their value as auxiliaries. Colonel Wroughton, military commandant at Jounpore, having heard that Azimgurh, some fifty miles distant, was threatened with an attack by 8,000 rebels under Madhoo Sing, of Atrawlia, resolved to send a regiment of Jung Bahadoor's force, under Colonel Shumshere Sing (a Nepaulese officer), to its

assistance. They started with alacrity; marched the distance in a day and a-half, and reached the threatened city on the evening of the 19th. At an early hour on the morning of the 20th, it was ascertained that a large body of rebels had assembled in and near the neighbouring village of Mundoree. A force of 1,200 men, mostly composed of the Ghoorka regiment, was immediately sent out to disperse them—Captain Boileau commanding, Colonel Shumshere Sing leading the Ghoorkas, and Mr. Venables, a resident landowner of the district, taking charge of a small body of local horse, which he had raised and organised for the assistance of the government. Finding that the rebels were posted in a clump of trees, and in a jheel behind the village, Captain Boileau directed Shumshere Sing to advance his men at double pace. This was done in the face of the fire from several guns: the Ghoorkas charged with terrible impetuosity, drove the enemy away from his position, and captured three brass guns, and all his camp equipage. Mr. Venables, who headed his cavalry, was seen wherever the fight was most serious, and killed three of the enemy with his own hand. About 200 of the rebels were cut up in this brief encounter; and the loss, on the part of the victors, amounted to thirty-four—killed and wounded.

The fortunate result of this affair entirely dissipated the prejudices that had been entertained against the efficiency of the Nepaulese troops, who had marched fifty miles in less than two days, and then won a battle against enormous odds, in a country to which they were entire strangers. From this period their assistance was appreciated, and it was then cheerfully rendered.

Throughout the vast portion of the Anglo-Indian empire embraced within the south-western districts of Bengal and Behar—the Saugor territories, Bundelcund, the Mahratta states, and Rajpootana—the troubles that prevailed from the month of September to the close of the year, were occasioned rather by the protracted struggles of sepoys already in rebellion, than from any new instances of disaffection; in fact, there were scarcely any remnants left of the native regiments of Bengal, or of their auxiliaries of the contingents, upon which, by this time, the spirit of treason had not set its brand.

CHAPTER VI.

DELHI; STATE OF THE CITY AND ENVIRONS AFTER THE RECAPTURE; MEASURES FOR THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF ORDER; TREATMENT OF THE NATIVE INHABITANTS; CHARGES OF INJUDICIOUS CLEMENCY; COLONEL HOGG AND THE PRINCE JUMMA BUKHT; VISITS TO THE ROYAL PRISONERS; THE QUESTION OF PRIZE-MONEY; TRIAL OF THE EX-KING; EVIDENCE OF A HALF-CASTE WOMAN, AND OF THE KING'S SECRETARY; PROCLAMATION OF KHAN BAHADOOR KHAN; FACTS ESTABLISHED BY THE TRIAL; THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS; INTRIGUES OF THE COURT; ADMINISTRATION OF SIR JOHN LAWRENCE; COMPENSATION EXACTED; PARTIAL IMPROVEMENT OF THE CITY; THE FUTURE OF DELHI; REPORTED ATTEMPT TO RESCUE THE KING; FIDELITY REWARDED; THE KING'S SOOTHSAYER HUNG; CUSTOMS' REVENUE FOR JULY, 1858; ESTIMATED AMOUNT OF PRIZE-MONEY.

Or the successful assault and capture of the city of Delhi, the imprisonment of the king, and the merited death of several of the princes of his family, copious details have been given in previous pages of this work.* It is now for us to turn aside from the continuous progress of events connected with the rebellion in other parts of India, that the incidents subsequent to the reconquest of, and connected with, the Mogul capital, may be succinctly traced.

As soon as the storm of war had subsided, and the British flag once more floated triumphantly over the shattered bastions and towers of the imperial city, it of course became necessary to take measures for its internal regulation, and for the effective control of the native population that yet continued to lurk amidst its ruined palaces and mosques. To this end, Colonel Burn, an officer of many years' experience in the Company's service (who then held a command in Brigadier Nicholson's movable column), was appointed military governor of the city; Colonel Innes, at the same time, exercising the functions of commandant of the palace; and Mr. Saunders succeeding Mr. Greathed as civil commissioner. These appointments had scarcely been notified in garrison orders, when, as before related, General Wilson, worn out by his anxieties and incessant exertions during the siege, surrendered his important command, and retired to the hill country for the benefit of his health. In consequence of this occurrence, General Penny was provisionally appointed to the chief command of the army at Delhi.

At the time this change took place, the city was still, as it were, trembling from the effects of the shock that had resulted in its utter prostration, as the capital and stronghold of a rebel power. Its streets were, for the most part, desolate; and silence reigned

through its once most busy quarters. Nearly all the native inhabitants, both Hindoos and Moslems, had fled from it in well-grounded terror, lest the English soldiers should retaliate upon them the barbarities perpetrated by the mutinous troops upon the defenceless Europeans found in the place at the commencement of the outbreak, and during the months of usurped dominion by the phantom king. To a certain extent, this wholesale evacuation by the inhabitants was of advantage to the authorities entrusted with the resettlement of the city, since it better afforded facilities for them to ascertain to what extent the traders and general population had taken part in the rebellion, and the excesses that followed its outburst. Nor did the inhabitants, on their part, show any great anxiety to return; as, although a few days after the occupation, a proclamation was issued by General Wilson, promising protection and encouragement to all not actually concerned in the foul murders and outrages of the 11th of May, very few availed themselves of the offer.

From the period of complete reoccupation in September, the city gradually assumed a state of reorganisation and order scarcely, under the circumstances, to have been expected; but, for many weeks after the crisis, its forlorn and desolate condition, as well as that of the environs, was pitiable in the extreme. Without the walls, the devastation was widely spread; but ruin had concentrated its force upon the ill-fated city. From the Lahore gate to the village of Subzee Munde, on the road to Kurnaul, there was an almost continuous line of carcasses of camels, horses, and bullocks, with their skins dried into parchment over the sapless bones. Here and there were remains of intrenchments, where battles had been fought on the road. From Badulce Serai, a short distance from the Lahore

* Vol. i., pp. 505—530.

gate, every tree was either levelled with the ground, or the branches were lopped off by round shot. The garden-houses of the wealthy citizens were, in almost every instance, masses of ruins, with the remains of men and beasts bleaching around them. Here and there might be seen the perfectly white skeleton of one who had shared in the terrible conflicts of the siege, and had fallen unnoticed and unremembered by his fellows; while, on all sides, lay scattered fragments of clothing, cartouch-boxes, round shot, and fragments of exploded shells. Around the Subzee Mundee all foliage was destroyed. The gaily ornamented residences in the vicinity of the Serai, were now mere masses of blackened ruins, with broken sand-bags and shattered loopholed walls, that declared the fiery ordeal through which the combatants on both sides had passed. With the exception of the Moree bastion and the Cashmere gate (both on the north side of the city), the line of defence did not exhibit much trace of injury; but within the walls, the appearance of the city was fearfully desolate. Entering by the Cashmere gate, the Mainguard was seen wholly destroyed. St. James's church next appeared, battered with shot even up to the ball and cross that surmounted the edifice. Most of the houses from this point to near the palace, were mere ruins; many of them blackened by fire. A spacious structure, occupied as the Delhi bank, formerly the residence of the Begum Sumroo, had nothing but the outer walls and a portion of the verandah remaining. In a narrow street, leading thence to the Chandnee Chouk, every house bore visible proof of the showers of musket-balls that must have been poured upon the defenders of the city, as they retreated, street by street, and from house to house, towards the palace. In many of the avenues, were still to be seen the *débris* of arches which had been built up by the rebels, but were broken into by the advancing troops. The road-ways had been cut up into furrows by the action of shot and shell, that ploughed up their surface. House-doors and huge gates lay about in all directions, some of which had been well backed up by massive stone-work and heavy beams of wood; while the remains of sand-bag defences were passed at every corner. But three of the seven gates of the city were as yet permitted to be open—namely, the Cashmere gate at the north-east angle, towards the old cantonments; the Lahore

gate, on the west side, opposite to the principal entrance to the palace; and the Calcutta gate, on the east, communicating with the bridge of boats over the Jumna, and the road to Meerut—the other four entrances to the city having been blocked up with solid masonry during the siege. The city of the Moguls was now, indeed, but little better than a vast and hideous ruin—its houses and streets deserted; its defences unmanned; and the sentence of utter demolition suspended over its shattered gates and once defiant towers: the carcasses of some thousands of its defenders, who had fallen in their insane struggle to establish a throne based upon treason and cruelty, had been necessarily gathered by the sweepers and camp-followers into deep pits, and were so hidden from mortal sight: and now, within the vast area of that imperial city, not one hand remained uplifted in defiance of its conquerors.

The terrible but just work of retribution was, however, carried on in a spirit of humanity that sometimes was mistaken for weakness. The women and children found in Delhi met with no harsh treatment, and were even sheltered from personal indignity by men fierce with the excitement of war, and thirsting to avenge the murders and outrages perpetrated upon their countrymen; nor were the inhabitants molested who had remained passive during the struggle, and had not aided the rebellion by their resources or their sympathy. All such were allowed to depart from the city upon application for the purpose; and even those who were suspected of treason had the advantage afforded them of an impartial trial; and when punishment was inflicted, it was because guilt was incontestably proved.

The re-establishment of order within the walls of the capital, as we have shown, occupied the attention, and called for the active vigilance, of the civil and military authorities during the first few weeks of the reoccupation. The king, and the female members of his family, with his youngest son, a youth of some eighteen years of age, still remained in strict confinement in a small building within the palace enclosure, but separate from the palace itself; and the apparently unnecessary delay in putting the dethroned traitor upon his trial, gave occasion for the expression of much dissatisfaction, and the dissemination of unfounded rumour and undeserved obloquy. At this time, however, the feelings of the whole

European community, distant, as well as in Hindostan, were painfully excited by the terrible calamity that had torn from it many of its most loved and valued members, under circumstances which afforded no room for doubt that the bereavement had been attended with brutalism which struck a sickening terror to the hearts of all connected with the victims: it was not strange, therefore, that the delay in bringing to trial the head and chief of the rebellious confederation should be viewed with impatience, and that the motives of the authorities, so long as they were left unexplained, should be misconstrued and censured; and such, in fact, was the case. Prudent delay was imputed to weakness and indecision; and every act of mitigated punishment, where a native was concerned, was, irrespective of the merits of the case, cried down as an exhibition of mistaken and mischievous leniency. The position of the authorities upon the spot, and of the governor-general at Calcutta, had thus become one of exceeding difficulty upon this subject alone. On the one hand was the impulsive and all but national cry for unmitigated vengeance; on the other, the calm and prudent dictates of high policy and humanity: and by adopting the latter, whatever Lord Canning lost in the eyes of the impetuous and unthinking as a conqueror, he more than gained, in the esteem of the civilised world, as a statesman and the representative of the sovereign of a great and magnanimous nation. The derisive *sobriquet* of "Clemency Canning," which was applied to him at this time, lost all its point when the propriety of the course he had pursued towards the natives of the vast country he governed became manifest.

Among other charges against the governor-general, which had their origin in Delhi, but found a too liberal echo in Calcutta, were some connected with the indulgent treatment of the captive king and his family; which, it was alleged, was owing to the interference of Lord Canning with the authorities at Delhi. One of these reports obtained circulation through the *Friend of India*, a paper of some influence at the time; and was as follows:—

"We would call the attention of the government of India to the state of things existing in the city of Delhi, which demand instant and stern reform. The youngest son of the king, eighteen years of age, has been declared innocent on account of his youth, and rides through Delhi on an ele-

phant, with two British officers behind him to do him honour. The statement appears so incredible, that it may be set aside as a mere newspaper report; but we entreat the government to believe that it is one which we would not publish without such information as produces absolute certainty. The king also, it is said (but for this we have only the authority of the *Lahore Chronicle*), has a retinue to attend him, and coolly insults the British officers who visit him. It is things such as these—the honours paid to our murderers—which exasperate Europeans to frenzy."

With regard to the allegation respecting the son of the king and the English officers, a prompt denial of the calumny was at once forwarded to the *Lahore Chronicle* by Colonel Hogg, one of the officers implicated. This gentleman says—"As you have given my name in one of the editorials of your paper of the 4th of November, as one of the officers who had been seen riding with one of the sons of the king on an elephant through the streets of Delhi, I send you for publication the following statement of facts:—Having been asked to accompany the commissioner on a visit to the king, I went, along with several officers (one of them holding high official rank in the army), to the house where he was confined. Before leaving, Jumma Bukht, a son of the king, apparently a lad of fifteen or sixteen years of age, asked the commissioner if he might be permitted to go out occasionally for an airing along with any gentleman who would take him; and as I was in the habit of going out every evening on an elephant, the commissioner asked if I would mind occasionally calling for him. I replied, 'that if there were no other (?) objections I would do so;' and as both the commissioner and the officer before alluded to, appeared to think there could be none, I consented to call for him; and, accordingly, on two occasions I took Jumma Bukht out: the first time, having nothing but a pad on the elephant, and being rather afraid that he might try to escape, I put him in front to prevent him slipping off; the second time, having a '*charjamah*,' I sat in front, though, I must say, I considered it a matter of very little moment which seat I occupied.

"As to parading through the streets of the city, the first time I went out through the Cashmere gate to Ludlow Castle; and home, when it was quite dusk, through the Lahore gate and Chandnee Chouk. The second

time I passed up the Chandnee Chok, and returned by the Lal Koa street, having been induced to go there by Jumma Bukht expressing a wish to show me the house he lived in.

"Without entering into the question of his guilt or innocence, but presuming that, if guilty, he would never have been allowed to accompany a British officer in public, I can only say that I found him a very intelligent lad: he gave me a good deal of information about the mutineers, their leaders, and their plans; and had I remained longer at Delhi, should probably have taken him out oftener; but, having returned to Meerut on the 26th of October, I had no further opportunity."

The charge of "lackeying the king's son about the streets of Delhi by British officers," therefore fell to the ground; and the alleged crime of unjustifiable indulgence to the king himself and his family (who, it was said, were treated with the most obsequious deference, and regard to state, by the authorities, through the unpardonable interference of the governor-general with the "righteous demand for blood"), resolved itself into the simple fact, that the king was to be put upon his trial for high treason to the supreme government of India; but that, in accordance with the laws of England, he was not to be treated as a felon until his guilt was proved. As to the "obsequious deference and observance of state etiquette," the following extract from a letter of Mrs. Hodson, wife of the officer by whom the king was taken prisoner and brought back to his capital, may suffice as a refutation.

"There is a report," writes this lady, "which has been mischievously spread about, and may have mischievous consequences—namely, that the king has the whole of his retinue around him, and has been restored to his own apartments in the palace. This is perfectly untrue.

"I went with Mr. Saunders (the civil commissioner) and his wife, to see the unfortunate and wretched man. We mounted a flight of stoue steps, at the bottom and top of which was a European sentry. A small low door opened into a room, half of which was partitioned off with a grass matting, called *chitac*, behind which was a woman cooking some atrocious compound, if I might judge from the smell. In the other half was a native bedstead—that is, a frame of bamboo, on four legs, with grass ropes strung across it; on this was lying,

and smoking a hookah, an old man with a long white beard; no other article of furniture whatever was in the room; and I am almost ashamed to say that a feeling of pity mingled with my disgust, at seeing a man recently lord of an imperial city almost unparalleled for riches and magnificence, confined in a low, close, dirty room, which the lowest slave in his household would scarcely have occupied in the very palace where he had reigned supreme, with power of life and death, untrammelled by any law, within the precincts of a royal residence as large as a considerable sized town; streets, galleries, towers, mosques, forts, and gardens; a private and a public hall of justice, and innumerable courts, passages, and staircases. Its magnificence can only be equalled by the atrocities which have been committed there. But to go back to the king.—The boy, Prince Jumma Bukht, repeated my name to his father, after Mr. Saunders. The old man raised his head, and looked at me; then muttered something I could not understand; and, at the moment, the boy, who had been called from the opposite door, came and told me that his mother, the begum, wished to see me. Mrs. Saunders then took possession of me; and we went on into a smaller, darker, dirtier room than the first, in which were some eight or ten women crowding round a common *charpoy*, on which was a dark, fat, shrewd, but sensual-looking woman, to whom my attention was particularly drawn. She took hold of my hand—I shuddered a little—and told me that my husband was a great warrior; but that if the king's life and her son's had not been promised them by the government, the king was preparing a great army which would have annihilated us. The other women stood in silence till her speech was finished, and then crowding round, asked how many children I had, and if they were all boys?—examined my dress, and seemed particularly amused by my bonnet and parasol. They were, with one exception, coarse, low-caste women, as devoid of ornament as of beauty. The begum, Zeuat Mahal, asked me—a great honour I afterwards found, but which I did not appreciate—to sit down on her bed; but I declined, as it looked so dirty. Mr. Saunders was much amused at my refusal, and told me it would have been more than my life was worth, six months before, to have done so."

Simultaneously with the measures adopted by Colonel Burn for the restoration of

order within the city, a military commission was appointed to try such leaders of the mutiny as had been captured in or near Delhi; and, by sentences of this tribunal, twenty subordinate members of the royal family were executed on the 18th of November; and several chiefs of the adjacent districts, who had been found in arms on the side of revolt, were also brought in, tried, and executed. With regard to delinquents of high rank and influence, justice was stern and inflexible. With minor offenders, as time wore on, its judgment was frequently largely tempered with mercy.

One of the first causes of dissatisfaction, really based upon a solid foundation, that arose among the captors of Delhi, originated in a question of prize-money. The amount of property that fell into the hands of the victorious troops, with the city and palace, was of enormous value, and it was further increased by the heavy forfeitures declared against those convicted of treason to the state, who had been captured by the troops. This wealth, it was supposed by the men whose valour had secured it, would be regarded as booty, or prize, and would even-

tually be distributed among them as in ordinary cases: such, however, was not the way in which the government was disposed to treat the subject, the whole of this property or booty being claimed as reverting to the state, by way of compensation for the expenses it had incurred through the rebellion; and the troops were consequently thrown into a state of discontent and irritation by the intended wrong, which was not mitigated by an announcement from the governor-general in council, that the reward of the conquerors of Delhi was limited to a bounty of six months' *battà* (or pay) to each soldier engaged in the struggle.* Public opinion, generally, supported the claim of the men, both in England and in India; and ultimately an arrangement was made, by which a portion of the personal property of the rebels was allowed to be set apart and treated as prize-money, and to be shared by the gallant fellows who had justly won it.

At length, after a number of the chief actors in the tragedy of Delhi had expiated their crimes by an ignominious death upon the scaffold, at the hands of the common hangman, the time arrived at which

* The following is the obnoxious order of the Bengal government, in reference to the booty captured at Delhi:—"Nov. 24th.—It being understood that prize agents have been appointed at Delhi for the collection of booty captured by the British troops from the mutineers and other persons in rebellion against the government, it is hereby notified, for the information and guidance of all parties concerned, that a clear distinction exists, in cases of recapture, between property of the state originally captured by an enemy in time of war, and similar property seized by rebels or mutineers during an insurrection. In the former case, the property recaptured is, in general, property treated as property of the hostile state, and becomes subject to the laws of prize; but in an insurrection, such as the present one, the troops of the state whose property has been pillaged by its own subjects, or by foreigners aiding such subjects in their treason, when they retake such property from the plunderers, merely retake it on behalf of the government, and acquire no legal right of prize or of property, although they have strong claims on the liberality of the government. These principles apply also to the property of private individuals plundered by the insurgents, and retaken by the troops of the state. Such private property can in no case be deemed lawful prize when clearly identified and claimed by the original owner. In accordance with these principles, the right honourable the governor-general in council is pleased to direct, that officers in command of bodies of troops employed in quelling the present insurrection, shall appoint committees of officers for the purpose of taking an account of all treasure and other public property, cattle, munitions of war, stores, &c., recaptured from the insurgents and mutineers, in order to the

delivery of the property so recovered into the nearest treasury, or into the custody of the proper civil or military officers: and that copies of such accounts shall be transmitted to the secretary in the military department, for the information of government. Separate accounts will also be taken by the committees of all private property captured or recaptured, and copies of these accounts will be transmitted to the military department, with statements of claims, if any, made by the owners. In all cases of clear identification of property, restitution may be made to the owners on the spot; provided that, in the case of natives, they shall prove, to the satisfaction of the committee, that they have not been guilty of any offence for which their property would be liable to forfeiture, and have, to the best of their ability, rendered active assistance to the British government: and when claims are not clearly established, or the property belongs to any persons deceased, the orders of government are to be awaited before delivery. The claims of the troops composing the field force by which Delhi has been nobly wrested from the hands of the mutineers and rebels, and by whose gallantry signal punishment has been inflicted on the insurgents there, are fully appreciated by the governor-general in council; and in recognition of their services, his lordship in council is pleased to grant a donation of six months' *battà* to be forthwith distributed to all the troops engaged in the operations against Delhi.—The "clear distinction" was by no means so obvious as to be satisfactory to the brave fellows for whose special edification it was now pointed out, and the "General Order of the Bengal government," was received by the troops with an expression of opinion far more energetic than complimentary to its authors.

it was deemed expedient to make known the course to be pursued in reference to the royal prisoner, who still nominally held kingly rank, although a powerless captive within the walls of the palace that once owned no other lord. The fact that the life of the king had been guaranteed to him by the promise of Captain Hodson, however much objected to at the time on the score of justice and policy, obviated all apprehension as to his personal safety; while his advanced age rendered him, as an individual totally divested of authority or influence, perfectly harmless: and these considerations, in some degree, reconciled the public mind to the idea that a punishment short of death would, in his case, satisfy the requirements of justice.

The capture of Mahomed Suraj-oo-Deen, ex-king of Delhi, was effected, as already stated, by Captain Hodson on the 21st of September; but it was not until the following month of January that the commission under which he was to be put upon his trial was made public. At the same time, the charges to be preferred against him were declared to be as follows:—

“1st. For that he, being a pensioner of the British government in India, did, at Delhi, at various times between the 10th of May and the 1st of October, 1857, encourage, aid, and abet Mahomed Bukht Khan, subahdar of the regiment of artillery, and divers others non-commissioned officers unknown, of the East India Company's army, in the crimes of mutiny and rebellion against the state.

“2nd. For having, at Delhi, at various times between the 10th of May and the 1st of October, 1857, encouraged, aided, and abetted Mirza Mogul, his own son, a subject of the British government in India, and divers other unknown inhabitants of Delhi and of the North-Western Provinces of India, also subjects of the said British government, to rebel and wage war against the state.

“3rd. For that he, being a subject of the British government in India, and not regarding the duty of his allegiance, did, at Delhi, on the 11th of May, 1857, or thereabouts, as a false traitor against the state, proclaim and declare himself the reigning king and sovereign of India, and did then and there traitorously seize and take unlawful possession of the city of Delhi; and did, moreover, at various times between the 10th of May and the 1st of October, 1857, as such false traitor aforesaid, treasonably conspire, consult, and agree with Mirza Mogul his son, and with Mahomed Bukht Khan, subahdar of the regiment of artillery, and divers other false traitors unknown, to raise, levy, and make insurrection, rebellion, and war against the state; and further to fulfil and perfect his treasonable design of overthrowing and destroying the British government in India, did assemble armed forces at Delhi, and send them forth to fight and wage war against the said British government.

“4th. For that he, at Delhi, on the 16th of May, 1857, or thereabouts, did, within the precincts of the palace at Delhi feloniously cause and become

accessory to the murder of forty-nine persons, chiefly women and children, of European and mixed European descent: and did, moreover, between the 10th of May and the 1st of October, 1857, encourage and abet divers soldiers and others in murdering European officers and other English subjects, including women and children, both by giving and promising such murderers service, advancement, and distinction; and further, that he issued orders to different native rulers having local authority in India, to slay and murder Christians and English people whenever and wherever found in their territories—the whole or any part of such conduct being a heinous offence under the provisions of Act 16, of 1857, of the legislative council of India.

“FREDERICK I. HARRIOT, Major,
“Deputy Judge-Advocate-general, Govt. Prosecutor.
“January 5th, 1858.”

On account of the indisposition of the aged prisoner, the commencement of this important trial was from time to time postponed, and it was not until the 27th of the month that the king of Delhi was formally arraigned before a court-martial, composed of the following officers:—

President—Colonel Dawes, of the horse artillery, in the stead of Brigadier Showers, originally nominated. *Members*—Major Palmer, her majesty's 60th rifles; Major Redmond, her majesty's 61st regiment; Major Sawyers, her majesty's 6th carabiniere; and Captain Rothney, 4th Sikh infantry. *Deputy Judge-Advocate-general*, and *Government Prosecutor*—Major Harriot; and *Interpreter to the Court*—Mr. James Murphy.

The trial was to have commenced at 11 A.M.; but, owing to delays caused by a sudden change in the constitution of the court, in consequence of Brigadier Showers' sudden departure on an important command, it was half-past twelve o'clock before the prisoner was brought before his judges, although he had been kept waiting in attendance outside the Dewani Khas, under a strong guard of the rifles, from the hour first appointed.

At length the order was given to bring in the prisoner; and to those assembled in the grand audience chamber of the Moguls, the appearance of the old man as he tottered into court, supported on one side by his only remaining son, and on the other by one of his attendants, was an event of intense interest; and it became especially so when the proud antecedents of his race were compared with the wretched position of their miserable descendant. As soon as the prisoner had reached the place assigned him between the president and the government prosecutor, he seated himself on

cushions placed for his accommodation, having his son Jumma Bukht standing on his left; the background being filled up by a strong guard of the 60th rifles, who had charge of the prisoner.

The proceedings commenced by the members of the court, the prosecutor, and the interpreter taking the customary oaths. The prosecutor then read the charges against the prisoner, and addressed the court in explanation of them; concluding by stating that, although the prisoner might be fully convicted by the court, no capital sentence could be passed upon him, in consequence of his life having been guaranteed to him by General Wilson, in a promise conveyed to him by Captain Hodson. He then, through the interpreter, put the formal question, "Guilty or not guilty?" but the prisoner either did not, or affected not, to understand the meaning of the inquiry, and there was considerable delay before he could be got to reply. He at length, however, declared himself profoundly ignorant of the nature of the charges against him, or of the authority by which he was then questioned, although a translated copy of the charges had been delivered to him some twenty days previous. After some further delay, and a great deal of persuasion and explanation through the interpreter, the prisoner at last pleaded "Not guilty," and the business of the court proceeded.

A number of documents of various descriptions, and of varied importance, were then read by the prosecutor. These chiefly consisted of petitions from all classes of natives, addressed to "The Shelter of the World:" some of them were curious; many related to outrages perpetrated by the sowars and sepoys in the city and suburbs; others related to certain delinquencies of the princes, sons of the ex-king, who had seized the opportunity to extort money and valuable property from the wealthy inhabitants; a considerable number related to matters connected with the establishment of the "new reign;" and all concluded with a prayer that it might endure as long as the world lasted. Most of these state papers bore the autograph orders and signature of the prisoner, written in pencil at the top; and, his handwriting being sworn to by competent witnesses, incontrovertible proof was furnished of the active co-operation of the prisoner in the rebellious movement.

During the greater part of the day, the royal prisoner appeared to consider the proceed-

ings as perfectly unimportant, and merely tiresome; and he occasionally found relief from *ennui* by dozing. His son appeared more animated, and laughed and chatted with his father's attendant without appearing at all embarrassed. In fact, neither of the personages most interested appeared to be at all affected by the position in which they were placed, but, on the contrary, seemed to look upon the affair as one of the consequences of their fate, to which they could offer neither resistance or regrets.

Each paper, as it was read, was shown to the prisoner's vakeel, and identified by him, although the king himself professed utter ignorance of the existence of such documents—denied his signature, and endeavoured, by gestures of dissent, to impress the court with an idea of his entire innocence.

On the second day, a document was read, which purported to be a remonstrance from one Nubbee Bux Khan to the prisoner, urging him to reject the request of the army for permission to massacre the European women and children who had sought shelter in the palace. The writer submitted that such massacre would be contrary to the Mohammedan religion and law; and stated that, unless *fatwā* (a judicial decree or sentence) could be procured, it should not be put in execution. This document, it was observed by the government prosecutor, was the only one, of an immense heap before him, in which the spirit of mercy and of kindness to Europeans could be traced; and it was remarkable, that it was the only one of the mass upon which the prisoner had not made some comment.

On the third day, the proceedings commenced at eleven o'clock, the prisoner being brought into court in a palanquin, attended by his vakeel, Gholam Abbas, and two servants; the prince, Jumma Bukht, having been ordered into confinement for his indecorous and disrespectful conduct towards the court during the first day's trial. A portion of the day was again occupied in reading a mass of documents, of which the prisoner took little notice—dozing, and apparently regardless of what was passing around him. Occasionally, however, when some particular passage was read, the dull eye would light up, and the bowed head would be raised in marked attention for a few moments—only to relapse into a state of listless indifference.

The sittings of the court occupied several weeks, in consequence of various adjourn-

ments rendered necessary by the failing health of the aged prisoner.—On the tenth day of the trial, Sir Theophilus Metcalfe (civil service) gave some important evidence relative to the state of feeling amongst the natives before the outbreak on the 11th of May; and stated that a rumour was current in the city, for six weeks prior to the outbreak, that the Cashmere gate would be attacked and taken from the British; that this rumour was communicated to the civil authorities, and that no notice was taken of it. Another witness, Buktowur, a peon in the service of the late Captain Douglas, gave details of the occurrences of the outbreak on the 11th of May, from the first appearance of the mutinous troopers from Meerut, to the murder of Mr. Fraser (the chief commissioner), Captain Douglas, Mr. Hutchinson (civil service), and the Rev. Mr. Jennings and his ill-fated daughter. From the evidence of this witness, it appeared that Captain Douglas, Mr. Hutchinson, and Mr. Nixon, were all near the Calcutta gate leading to the bridge of boats, when four or five of the troopers rode up, and fired upon the little party—killing Mr. Nixon, and severely wounding Mr. Hutchinson. The Europeans, alarmed, jumped down from the road into the dry ditch surrounding the palace, Captain Douglas being much hurt in his descent. They then ran along the ditch, and reached the palace gate, which they entered, and closed after them. Mr. Fraser came up soon afterwards, and was admitted; and at one period of the attack, he appears to have taken a musket from one of the sepoys at the gate, and shot a trooper, which had the effect of driving the others off for a short time. At the suggestion of Mr. Jennings, Captain Douglas was taken up to his own apartments over the gateway; and soon after this, a number of people from the interior of the palace, came rushing forward, shouting, “Deen! deen!” and a crowd gathering, they were headed by a native officer of the palace guard, and, under his guidance, Captain Douglas and his companions were sought out, and brutally murdered.

On the eleventh day of the trial, a peon, named Chownee, corroborated the evidence of former witnesses as to the deaths of Mr. Fraser and Captain Douglas; and stated that the Mohammedans of the city were in the habit of boasting that the Persians, aided by the Russians, were coming to drive the English out of the country; and averred

that the chupatties which preceded the outbreak, were used to bring together large bodies of men, for some business then to be explained to them, and that the distribution began at or near Kurnaul, a town about seventy miles north-west of Delhi. He also stated, that about five or six days after the city had been in the possession of the mutineers, he heard there was a great disturbance in the palace, and on going to ascertain the cause, found a number of sepoys, and some of the prisoner's armed servants, killing the European men, women, and children. There was a great crowd collected, and he could not see distinctly through it; but after the slaughter had been completed, he inquired of the sweepers who were removing the bodies, and heard that, in all, fifty-two persons had been killed: of these, only five or six were males, the rest being females and children. The bodies were removed in carts, and thrown into the river. When he saw them lying dead, they had been collected in a circle. A number of Mohammedans were on the top of Mirza Mogul's house—spectators of the scene; and the prince himself was among them. From the 11th to the 16th of May, when the massacre took place, these unfortunate persons were confined in a cellar or receptacle for rubbish, where the king's lowest class of prisoners were usually kept, and in which it would have been considered an insult to place respectable persons.—On the twelfth day of the examinations, one — Ram, a person who was in Delhi on the 11th of May, but left a few days afterwards, confirmed the statement of the previous witness; and added, that the prisoner was proclaimed king by beat of drum, and that a royal salute was fired in the palace at midnight of the 11th of May. He also gave further details of the massacre of the Europeans within the palace, of which event he was an eye-witness. He said that it was known two days previously that the European prisoners were to be slaughtered on that day, and a great crowd had in consequence assembled. The prisoners were all ranged in a line on the edge of a tank, and, at a given signal, the mutineers and palace servants, by whom they were completely surrounded, rushed in and hacked them to pieces with swords. Shots were fired at them at the commencement; but one of the bullets happening to strike a sepoy, the sword was resorted to, and the barbarous work was soon over. The murderers en-

gaged in this cowardly deed numbered from 150 to 200 persons. When the sanguinary act had been accomplished, the spectators were turned out of the place, and the bodies were carried away by sweepers. No one attempted to interfere to prevent the massacre; no messenger from the king came to stop it: and the witness said he heard nothing which could lead him to believe that the deed was not gloried in by the Mohammedans. The witness further stated that he was present at the murder of the Beresfords. (Mr. Beresford was manager of the Delhi bank.) This gentleman was badly wounded at the onset, one arm being broken by a shot; but having a sword, and his wife being armed with a spear, they contrived to keep the ruffians at bay for some time, Mrs. Beresford herself killing one and wounding another. They were at length overpowered, and, with their five children (all girls), were ruthlessly murdered. The Rev. Mr. Hubbard, and another missionary, who had gone to the bank for protection, were also killed at the same time. "The house," said the witness, "where they were all slaughtered, still bears the marks of the struggle, and of the closing scene of horror."

An important piece of evidence was given on the thirteenth day of the trial, by a half-caste woman, the wife of a Mr. Alexander Aldwell, formerly in the civil service of the Company; who, being duly sworn, deposed as follows:—

"I am the wife of Mr. Alexander Aldwell, a pensioner of government, and was residing in a house in Duriaogunge on the 11th of May last. The first news of the mutiny that I received was from my syce, who, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, brought me intelligence that the troops at Meerut had mutinied, and were coming from Meerut, and were murdering all the Europeans they came across. He advised me to order my carriage, and get out of the place as quickly as I could. Soon after, Mr. Nowlan, our next-door neighbour, came in, and confirmed the tale. My husband and Mr. Nowlan went to the sepoy guard of the garrison hospital, which was near our house, and asked them if they would assist us in case of an attack. They replied, 'Mind your own business, and leave us to mind ours.' At this time none of the mutineers had arrived from Meerut, and so could have held no communication with these men. Mr. Nowlan and my husband, after consulting together, determined to make a stand in our house, in case it should be attacked, as it was the larger and more defensible of the two. They proceeded to arm themselves and barricade the house. Several of our friends and their families took refuge in our house. We numbered, in all, about thirty souls, as far as I can judge. Soon after this, I saw several troopers riding

on the river bank under our house. They fired without effect at some people who were on the roof of our house. I saw the mutineers cross the bridge from Meerut. I should say there were more cavalry than infantry. After some time had elapsed, a Mohammedan dyer of the town rushed into our compound, nearly frantic, with a tulwar drawn in his hand, and covered with blood. He was repeating the Kulman, or profession of faith, and saying that they were going to kill all the infidels. Mr. Nowlan shot him dead. About eleven o'clock Mrs. Fowler, a neighbour of ours, was brought into the house very badly wounded by a sword-cut on the head. About 3 P.M. I heard the explosion of the powder-magazine. Before this our friends had made their escape out of the place in the best way they could. After the explosion, I prevailed upon my husband to allow me to leave the house with my three children in Mohammedan disguise. We left in native dhoolies. We went to the house of a grandson of the king's, called Mirza Abdoolah. His family had, for some time past, been acquainted with us, and we had been in the habit of visiting him. We remained with him till eight o'clock in the evening, and then went to his mother-in-law. I left what property I had with me (about 200 rupees) in his hands, as he said he would take care of it for me, as it would be safe with him. The next morning I sent for my property; I received answer that Mirza Abdoolah had nothing belonging to me. He added, that I had better leave his family, or he would send and have me and my children killed as infidels. His uncle shortly after arrived, with armed attendants, to kill us. My moonshee's mother, who was with us, upbraided him with such cruelty. She said, 'If you wish to kill any one, kill me first. I am a Syudanee, and by killing me you will perform a meritorious action.' She alluded to the fact of the feud between the Syuds and Sunnees. The king's family are Sunnees. They replied, 'If we did so we should be no better than infidels.' At length, after some altercation, we were allowed to live till the evening. My tailor came to me, and advised me to take shelter in Nawab Mahomed Alli's house, where there were some more Europeans, as he had heard. We, however, went to my tailor's own house. Hearing, the next day, that there were several Europeans in the palace, whom the king kept in confinement, but with the promise of their lives being safe, I determined to go and join them. Accordingly, in the evening (this was Wednesday, May 14th), my tailor, and a trooper of the 3rd cavalry, who owed him some obligation, escorted us thither. As soon as we arrived at the Lahore gate we were stopped, searched, and made prisoners of. We were taken before Mirza Mogul. He ordered us into confinement with the rest of the prisoners. We were about fifty, in one dark filthy room; there were no windows, and only one door. The sepoys and crowd had free access there. They used to insult the Europeans. We were obliged to shut the door in self-defence, and then we had no aperture for light or air. The Khassbursdars wished to kill us at once, but the sepoys would not let them. On Thursday morning, a sepoy informed us that they meant to mine the place and blow us up. They used often to frighten us by such stories. On Friday, a servant of the king's asked one of the ladies how the English would treat them if they regained Delhi. She replied, 'As you have treated my husband and children.' On Saturday morning, all except myself and

children and an old Mussulman, who was imprisoned with us, were taken out and murdered. I and my children were believed to be natives. Before I came into the palace, I had learned and taught my children to repeat the Mohammedan profession of faith. I had also had a petition written in Hindostani, addressed to the king, styling myself a Cashmeree, and asking for his protection. This was taken from me by the guard at the Lahore gate, and hence my disguise succeeded completely. The Mussulmans used to eat with us; and our food was given us separately from the Christians. The prisoners were taken out by the Khassburdars; they ordered the Christians out, and said to us, 'You Mussulmans are to remain apart.' Upon this, the other ladies and children began crying, saying they were going to be killed. They were, however, reassured by the men, who swore their most sacred oaths that the king merely wished to put them in a better residence. They were taken out, and a rope put round the whole of them. They were taken to the tank in the court, and murdered there. The Khassburdars alone took part in the murder. They boasted of it as a privilege. It is reckoned by Mussulmans that to kill an infidel is to insure themselves a place in paradise. After the massacre, two guns were fired in token of rejoicing. After the Europeans had been murdered, we were taken before the king's *mufti* (or lawyer), who told us we were free. We went to my tailor's house. The thanadar of the quarter, however, having suspicions of us, took us prisoners the next day, and took us before Mirza Mogul, saying we were Christians. Mirza Mogul ordered us to be executed. However, the 38th sepoys would not allow this, and hid us in Captain Douglas's quarters. We escaped from this the day after the defeat at the Hindun river. We hid ourselves in the city, and passed as natives. After the defeat at the Hindun, the Hindoos upbraided the Mussulmans with want of courage, and with having deceived them by false hopes. The sepoys were all desponding and downhearted. The Hindoos said, that if they thought their lives would be spared, they would return to the British. They expressed doubts as to whether government had really intended to interfere with their caste. The Mussulmans were most bitter against the infidel English. I heard Mohammedan women teaching their children to pray for the destruction of the English, and to execute them. As soon as the troops arrived in the palace, the Hindoos induced the king to give an order that no cows or bullocks were to be killed in the city. I believe this order was strictly observed. There was a disturbance expected during the Buckra Eed, when the Mussulmans usually kill an ox. They avoided the difficulty by omitting the ceremony. I made my escape from the city on the 9th of September, and remained in disguise till the British retook the place, when I returned."

The husband of Mrs. Aldwell managed, by some means or other, to escape the massacre of the Europeans in the city, and remained for some months ignorant of the fate of his wife and children. He, however, ultimately rejoined them at Delhi, on its reoccupation by the British.

The most conclusive evidence against the prisoner, in reference to his alleged com-

plicity in the rebellion, was produced by Mnkhoon Lall, the private secretary of the ex-king. Upon the first appearance of this individual before the court, he exhibited a degree of insolent assurance that drew from the judge-advocate a sharp rebuke and admonition. The prisoner, on his part, took no notice of, and appeared perfectly indifferent to, the presence or the behaviour of his secretary; and only once in the course of the evidence of that functionary, did he exhibit the slightest token of recognition. Mukhoon Lall, a short and stout Hindoo, after a slight interval allowed him to recover his equanimity, which had been seriously disturbed by the caution he received, took his station in the place allotted to the witnesses, and in a very humble attitude, and with clasped hands, proceeded to give his evidence. He declared that, for more than two years previous to the outbreak at Meerut, the prisoner had been disaffected towards the British government—a circumstance he ascribed partly to the discontinuance of the pomp and ceremony to which the inmates of the palace had been accustomed, and partly to the refusal of the government to recognise whoever the prisoner pleased to nominate as heir-apparent to the throne. The arrival of some of the royal family from Lucknow, about the time referred to, he stated was closely connected with the prisoner's correspondence with Persia. The growing disaffection of the native army had been the common subject of conversation in the private apartments of the prisoner for some months previous to the outbreak; and preparations for that event had been arranged by the native officers sent from Delhi, to form part of the court-martial upon the mutineers of the 3rd cavalry. The witness also stated, that the guards of the palace, changed weekly from the three regiments in cantonments at Delhi, were, to a man, adherents of the king. The secretary then described the incidents of the outbreak as connected with the personal acts of the prisoner; and, with regard to the subsequent massacre of European prisoners, said, that when the mutineers became clamorous for the slaughter, Mirza Mogul, eldest son of the prisoner, with another of the princes, went to obtain the consent of the king, who was in his private apartments; and were admitted to an audience, the mutineers remaining outside. After the lapse of about twenty minutes the two princes returned; and Mirza Mogul announced, with exulta-

tion, that the prisoner had given his consent: the slaughter accordingly commenced, the princes looking on from a terrace immediately above the scene of the outrage, and encouraging the murderers by their gesticulations and laughter!

On the following day (the fifteenth of the trial), Mukhoon Lall was further examined; and stated, that the then late prime minister, Maibhood Ali Khan, was the only person he knew of in the prisoner's entire confidence, and that he himself was not admitted to the secret conferences of his master. That at such private conferences, Maibhood Ali, Hussun Uskere, the begum Zenat Mahal, and generally two of the prisoner's daughters, were present, and that by their counsel he was guided. In the course of the proceedings, the following proclamation—issued by Khan Bahadoor Khan, nawab of Bareilly, to the Hindoo chiefs, and published in Delhi—was produced as an exposition of the terms upon which Mussulmans and Hindoos were to merge their own differences, and co-operate for the overthrow of British rule.

"Greeting to the virtuous, illustrious, generous, and brave rajahs, preservers of their own faith, and props of the religion of others!—We wish you every prosperity, and take the present opportunity to apprise you all that God created us to preserve our faith; and our religious books fully inform us what our faith is. We are all determined to preserve that faith. Oh! ye rajahs, God has created you, and given you dominions, that you should all preserve your faith, and extirpate the destroyers of your religion. Those that are sufficiently strong, should openly exert their strength to destroy the enemies of their religion; but those that are not sufficiently strong, should devise plans for causing the death of those enemies, and thus preserve their religion. The Shastras inculcate that it is the duty of a man to die for his religion, and not to embrace the religion of an alien. God has said it; and it is a notorious fact, that the English are the destroyers of the creeds of other nations. Let this fact be thoroughly impressed upon your minds—that, for years past, with a view to destroy the religion of natives of India, the English have compiled books, and have disseminated them, through missionaries, throughout Hindostan. They have, from time to time, forcibly dispossessed us of our religious books. Their own accredited servants have divulged this to us. Now, you should all devote your attention towards the plans which the English have been forming for destroying the religion of the natives of India. Firstly, they have promulgated a law that a Hindoo widow must re-marry. Secondly, they have forcibly suspended the rites of *suttee* (burning of widows with the dead bodies of their husbands on the funeral pyre), and passed laws prohibiting those rites. Thirdly, they have often pressed us to embrace their religion, on promises of future advancement under their government; and they have often

requested us to attend their churches, and listen to their doctrines. They have made it a standing rule, that when a rajah dies without leaving any male issue by his married wife, to confiscate his territory, and they do not allow his adopted son to inherit it, although we learn from the Shastras that there are ten kinds of sons entitled to share in the property of a deceased Hindoo. Hence it is obvious that such laws of the English are intended to deprive the native rajahs of their territory and property. They have already seized the territories of Nagpore and Lucknow. Their designs for destroying your religion, O rajahs! are manifest from their having had recourse to compulsive measures to force the prisoners to mess together. Many prisoners refused to mess together, and were consequently starved to death; and many ate bread together, and, of course, forfeited their religion. When the English saw that even such measures were ineffectual to convert the Hindoos, they caused bones to be ground with flour and sugar, and mixed particles of dried flesh and bone-dust with rice, and caused the same to be sold in the shops. In a word, they devised every plan they could for destroying your religion. Eventually, a Bengalee told the English that if the native army would use the profane things, then the inhabitants of Bengal would make no scruple to accept the same. The English liked this proposal, little knowing that, in enforcing it, they would themselves be rooted out of the country. The English told the Brahmins, and other Hindoos serving in their army, to bite suet-greased cartridges. When the Mussulmans serving in the army saw that the English were plotting to undermine the religion of the Brahmins, they also refused to bite the greased cartridges. But the English were bent on destroying the Hindoo religion. The native soldiers of those regiments which refused to bite the cartridges, were blown away from guns. This injustice opened the eyes of the sepoys, and they began to kill the English wherever they found them. A small number of English is still left in India, and measures have been adopted to kill them also. Be it known to all you rajahs, that if these English are permitted to remain in India, they will butcher you all, and put an end to your religion. It is surprising that a number of our countrymen are still siding with the English, and fighting for them; but let it be well impressed upon your minds that the English will neither allow your religion to remain safe, nor will they permit those countrymen of ours that are assisting them to keep their religion unmolested.

"We would now ask you, O rajahs! have you found out any means for preserving your religion and lives? If you all be of the same mind with us, then we can easily root out the English from this country, and maintain our national independence and our religion.

"As all the Hindoos and Mohammedans of India have found out that the destruction of the Englishmen is the only way by which we can save our lives and religion, we have printed this proclamation. We conjure you, O rajahs! by the holy water of the Ganges, by the sacred plant of Toolsee, and by the sacred image of Shalugram—and we conjure you, O Mussulmans! by the Almighty God, and by the sacred Koran, to attend to us. These Englishmen are enemies of the Hindoos as well as of the Mussulmans. It is a duty now incumbent upon both nations (Hindoos and Mussulmans) to kill all the

Englishmen in India. Both nations should therefore combine together and destroy the Englishmen.

"Among the Hindoos, the slaughter of kine is looked upon as a horrible sin. The Mussulman chieftains have all agreed, that should the Hindoos join them in killing the Englishmen in India, they (the Mussulmans) will cease to slaughter cows. The Mussulmans have made solemn promises by the sacred Koran, to abstain from eating flesh of cows. Should the Hindoos join them, the Mussulmans will look upon the flesh of cows with the same horror which they feel at seeing pork. If the Hindoos do not attend to this solemn appeal, and do not kill the English—nay, if they shelter them even—they will be considered guilty of slaughtering cows and eating beef.

"Should the English, with a view to neutralise our proposal, make a similar agreement, and urge the Hindoos to rise against the Mussulmans, let the wise Hindoos consider, that if the English do so, the Hindoos will be sadly deceived. The Englishmen never keep their promises. They are deceitful impostors. The natives of this country have always been tools in the hands of these deceitful Englishmen. None of you should permit this golden opportunity to slip away. Let us take advantage of it. Our epistolary intercourse, though not so charming as personal interview, is still calculated to revive remembrance of each other. We trust you will concur with us and favour us with a reply to this appeal, which is made with the full consent of both Hindoos and Mussulmans of this place.

"Published by Moulvie Seyed Kootub,* Shah Bahadoor—Press, Bareilly.†

"True translation.

(Signed)

"J. C. WILSON,

"Commissioner on Special Duty."

During the trial the king displayed a singular line of conduct, not at all in keeping with the serious position he occupied. Occasionally, while the evidence was progressing, he would coil himself up in his shawls, and, reclining upon the cushions placed for his convenience, would appear perfectly indifferent to the proceedings around him; at other times he would suddenly rouse up, as if from a dream, and loudly deny some statement of a witness

* This man was Persian teacher in the government college at Bareilly.

† The letters and proclamations that have from time to time been addressed to the populations of India by the rebel leaders, do not so much illustrate the causes of the mutiny, as the motives and feelings that may be supposed to prevail among the natives of both races. The few specimens that have been published, it will be observed, dwell almost exclusively on the proselytising tendencies of the English, and on the hopelessness of their efforts. The assertion, that only a few Englishmen remain in India, is always repeated with increased earnestness; and the charge of interference with the native religion, is carefully elaborated from a few well-known measures of the government, mingled with a chaos of impudent fictions; but it is remarkable that not a single instance of civil maladministration is brought forward, although repeated instances of

under examination; then again relapsing into a state of real or assumed insensibility, he would carelessly ask a question, or laughingly offer an explanation of some phrase used in evidence. Upon one occasion, he affected such utter ignorance of a question before the court, in reference to his alleged intrigues with Persia, as to inquire, "Whether the Persians and the Russians were the same people!" He several times declared himself perfectly innocent of everything he was charged with, and varied the wearisomeness of his constrained attendance, by amusing himself with a scarf, which he would twist and untwist round his head like a playful child.

The following facts were ultimately established by these proceedings:—First, that the intended revolt was known to, and encouraged by, the Shah of Persia, who, at the request of the king, promised money and troops to ensure its success; his proclamation to that effect being posted upon the gate of the Jumma Musjid, from whence it was taken down by order of Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, who himself was informed by a Christian rissaldar very popular with the natives, that he had been warned to fly, as the Persians were coming, and the Mussulmans were exceedingly excited. Unfortunately, Sir Theophilus considered the information from such a quarter of no importance. Secondly, it was proved that a paper was addressed to, and received by, the late Mr. Colvin (lieutenant-governor of the North-West Provinces), by Mahomed Derwish, revealing the whole plot six weeks before the rebellion actually broke out; and that this warning also was considered so unimportant, that it was neither acted upon by the party to whom it was given, or reported by him for the consideration of the

disregard of the rite of adoption by the Indian government, might have been adduced as involving secular oppression, as well as religious innovation. But the suspicion of this possible wrong was not sufficiently strong to outweigh considerations of prudence and loyalty among the masses of the Hindoo population. In the foregoing address of Khan Bahadoor Khan, the author, a chieftain of Mussulman race, affects the deepest solicitude for the safety of the Hindoo religion. A member of the sect which has deluged India with blood for the promotion of Monotheism, Khan Bahadoor Khan affects to be an enthusiast for the 365,000 deities of Hindooism; and forgetting the proselytising doctrines of the *Koran*, he quotes from the *Shastras* a declaration, that no man is at liberty to adopt the creed of an alien! The nawab was probably aware that the persons he addressed might doubt his sincerity, but he nevertheless furnished them with an excuse for disloyalty.

supreme government : and, Thirdly, that the murders of the Europeans in Delhi were committed by order of the king, in the presence of his sons and other persons connected with the royal family, and by means of the Khassbuddars, his special body-guard.

Of the assumption of independent sovereignty in defiance of existing treaties, and the levying of war against the British government in India, there could be no question ; and the prisoner was found guilty upon each of the four charges alleged against him, whereby he became liable to the penalty of death as a traitor and felon ; but in consequence of the assurance given to him on surrendering himself prisoner to Captain Hodson at the college of Durgah Nizam-oo-Deen, on the 21st of September, 1857, the court sentenced him to be transported for the remainder of his days, either to one

of the Andaman Islands,* or to such other place as might be selected by the governor-general in council.

A considerable delay occurred in carrying the sentence of the court into effect ; and, in the meantime, the deposed king, with the females of his family and some native attendants, remained in close confinement within the precincts of the palace at Delhi. Sheltered by its privacy from the odium that ever accompanied the mention of his name, Mahomed Suraj-oo-Deen might here probably have lingered until his existence and his crimes had been alike forgotten, but for the injudicious conduct of persons whose political importance at the time was sought to be established upon an avowed opposition to the opinion universally expressed in relation to the atrocities perpetrated by the adherents of the fallen monarch. Among such persons was the

* The Andamans are a group of densely-wooded islands in the Bay of Bengal, between 10° and 13° N. lat., and nearly under 93° E. long., about 180 miles south-west of Cape Negrais, and as much north of the Nicobar Isles. The Great and Little Andamans are separated by a channel known as Duncan's Passage ; and the area of the two is estimated at about 3,000 square miles. The native population is believed to be exceedingly scanty, and in the lowest state of ferocious barbarism. The interior of these islands has never yet been penetrated by Europeans ; and although a British settlement was attempted at Port Cornwallis, in the north-east of the larger island, in 1793, the untamable ferocity of the natives was such, as to render its abandonment a measure of prudence, within three years from that time ; most of the settlers having been killed and eaten by the people of the place. The islands then remained unnoticed by the British until after the outbreak of the sepoy rebellion, when it became necessary to provide a secure place of transportation for the swarms of defeated rebels that remained, after the sword and the halter had become satiated with prey ; and the isolated condition of the Andamans at once suggested their appropriation to the uses of a penal settlement for British India. A sufficient force of military police was accordingly dispatched to the Great Andaman, under the superintendence of Dr. Walker, of the Bengal service ; and thither, from time to time, the ruffians of the late Bengal army, whose lives were spared by the clemency of the courts-martial, were transported, to take their chance for existence among the aborigines, by whom they were scarcely surpassed in cruelty and cunning. A number of the first batch of military convicts were at once set to work to clear the land adjacent to the proposed settlement ; while others were compelled to labour in the erection of suitable buildings for the establishment. The following extract from the letter of an officer belonging to her majesty's ship *Roebuck*, affords some interesting intelligence regarding the place :—"Our cruise to the Andamans would have been pleasant had we had other than ship provisions in the mess. We called at Port Blair (our headquarters), and found two of the Company's ships there,

with Dr. Walker, superintendent of the penal settlement, and other officers on board ; and then went on our cruise to the south of Rutland Island, and as far as 12° 30' N., keeping the land in sight all day (sometimes within a mile of it) to look for Malay vessels, which resort there for birds'-nests and sea-slugs, but we were unsuccessful ; in fact, nothing was to be seen but a few native huts, and canoes hauled up on the beach. Only once did we see anything of the savages, who were bathing or fishing under the trees. There are four Andaman Islands—Northern, Southern, Middle, and the Great Andaman ; but these have several smaller islands attached to them ; and they are covered so densely with trees, that nothing is seen of the interiors. Port Blair was the only part where we could venture on shore, and then only with our revolvers, in case of meeting some natives. The Company's ships have lost several men, besides an officer of the *Pluto* ; and when the *Sesostris* sent a watering party on shore the other day, they were suddenly attacked by natives with bows and arrows—the latter pointed with hard wood, and found to penetrate a boat's side. Several arrows were discharged, and one went through a man's thigh, which made our party run for it (not being armed), and return to the ship for muskets. When they got back to the watering place, they found that the savages had decamped, taking with them the hoops off the casks. Little is known about these natives. It is believed that they live upon fish ; some live up the trees. The only kind of flesh to be had is that of the wild pig, which they shoot. This information was obtained by sepoys, in the following way. I believe Dr. Walker sent several of them away into the interior, with muskets and ammunition, to explore the country ; but very few of them came back, for they were nearly all killed by the savages. Before that, however, a great number of the sepoys deserted ; and those that returned, eighty in number, were hanged on the trees in Chatham Island. There are two small islands at Port Blair—Ross Island at the entrance, and Chatham in the middle of the harbour ; both of these are bearing the tents of about 800 mutineers of the highest rank ; and as soon as the rebels are caught up-country in India, they are

ex-member of parliament for Aylesbury, whose efforts to re-create political capital, had induced him to waver from the harmless paths of antiquarian research, to thread the intricate labyrinths of Anglo-Indian policy, with a view to enlighten the British public upon the subject of its Eastern empire, its sacrifices, and its wrongs. This gentleman, in the course of his travels, reached Delhi, and, it would seem, was permitted to have an interview with the royal prisoner; and some details of that interview were, on the 11th of May, 1858, communicated to a large and influential auditory at the St. James's Hall, Loudon (amongst which were several members of the British House of Commons), in the following words:—

"Many persons regret that the king of Delhi had not fallen in just punishment for his offence. I saw the king of Delhi; and I will leave the meeting to judge, when it has heard me, whether *he is punished!* I will not give any opinion as to whether the manner in which we are treating him is worthy of a great nation. I saw that broken-down old man—not in a room, but in a miserable hole of his palace—lying on a bedstead, with nothing to cover him but a miserable tattered coverlet. As I beheld him, some remembrance of his former greatness seemed to arise in his mind. He rose with difficulty from his couch; showed me his arms, which were eaten into by disease and by flies—partly from want of water; and he said, in a lamentable voice, that he had not enough to eat! Is that a way in which, as Christians, we ought to treat a king? I saw his women too, all huddled up in a corner with their children; and I was told that all that was allowed for their support was 16s. a-day! Is not that punishment enough for one that has occupied a throne?"

That such a statement, from such an authority, should excite a large amount of sympathy, was naturally to be expected; and, for a time, many persons imagined that the treatment of the octogenarian prisoner of Delhi was marked by cruelty alike uncalled-for and unjustifiable; but it was not long ere the echoes of those deprecatory sentences, spoken beneath the vaulted roof of St. James's Hall, in the British metropolis, were heard throughout India; nor were

packed off to their new home in the Andamans, where they have to cultivate the ground, first burning or cutting down the jungle. On Ross Island, while we were there, they were building an

they long without a distinct and circumstantial contradiction. A gentleman, to whose medical supervision, as officiating civil surgeon at Delhi, the personal health of the prisoner and his family had been confided by the authorities, no sooner met with the charge as reported in the English newspapers, than, in a tone at once decisive and temperate, he forwarded to England a refutation of the calumny, and left the question of its author's veracity to be decided at leisure. This gentleman, writing from Delhi, June 25th, 1858, after quoting the offensive allegations, expressed himself as follows:—

"I hope that the report is incorrect, as the words as they stand are likely to mislead. For a man of his years, the ex-king of Delhi is particularly active and intelligent; and I have seldom seen so old a man in England with equal mental and bodily energy.

"He resides, not in a hole, but in (for a native) a large room, square, with windows looking inwards and outwards. This room is divided about equally by curtains from one side to the other, separating the females from the males. On either side, the centre room opens on to a square court—one reserved for the females of the family, and containing one or two small buildings (or godowns) used for sleeping; the other, or entrance court, provided with temporary dwellings for the male attendants, of whom there are several, besides eunuchs and women for the service of the concealed ones.

"The whole suite of buildings is elevated some twelve or fourteen feet, and, on the ex-king's side, overlook a garden, in the centre of which reside the officers in charge of the prisoners.

"At the season of the year Mr. Layard visited Delhi, no covering further than a sheet is, as far as my experience goes, ever used by the natives of Central India; and the old man has no deficiency either of clothes, pillows, or cushions.

"There is no limit whatever but the individual's own desire, to the amount of water used for bathing or other purposes. At one time the ex-king was suffering from a disease not uncommon in India, but rarely mentioned in polite English ears; the

hospital, and a pier for boats. They are all alone, having only the Burmese, whom they despise, as guards, to look after them, with the naval guard of the Company."

skin was abraded slightly in one or two small patches about the fingers, arms, &c., from scratching only.

"Although he has been months under my care, he has not once complained of a deficiency of food, though, as has been his custom for thirty-five years, he usually vomits after every meal. I have, on more than one occasion, seen him superintending the preparation of sherbet by his own attendants.

"The ordinary pay of an inferior workman at Delhi, is 7s. per month—that is a sufficiency to feed and clothe man, wife, and children. Very few adults consume more than 3d. worth of the common food in twenty-four hours. That amount covers the charge for flour, rice, dhâl, sugar, curry ingredients, vegetables, butter, and firewood for cooking.

"I speak advisedly, as the accounts for the lunatic asylum pass through my hands; and in that institution the dietary for patients, of different social conditions, is without stint—speaking of necessaries, of course. Paupers have an allowance of less than a 1d. a-day, for adults.—THE OFFICIATING CIVIL SURGEON, DELHI."

Thus ended the *Assyrian* romance, whose foundation was to have been laid in the palace-prison of Delhi.

Among the real or alleged causes for dissatisfaction within the palace, it has already been observed, that a difficulty in recognising the nominee of the king, as his successor on the nominal throne of Delhi, was a source of much annoyance to that personage, and also to his youngest and favourite wife, the sultana, Zenat Mahal. The question of succession had furnished a topic for dissension within the palace, and intrigue without it, from the year 1853; the king, at the instigation of Zenat Mahal, then desiring to name the child of his old age, Mirza Jumma Bukht, heir to the throne; while the British government insisted on recognising the superior and prior claim of an elder son, Mirza Furruk-oo-Deen. The contention to which this rivalry of interests gave birth, continued to rage with great virulence until 1856, when the elder son died of cholera, or, probably, as suspected at the time, of poison. This event, however, had not the effect of settling the question, as there still were elder brothers of Jumma Bukht in existence, whose claims to priority of succession were recognised by the Anglo-Indian government; while the mother of the latter prince

persisted in her endeavours to obtain the heirship to the throne for her own son, and declared that her object would be persistently and steadily pursued until it was accomplished. When, however, it was announced by the government that the son of the deceased prince, and grandson of the king, should succeed in a direct line to all that remained of imperial power at Delhi, her hostility to British influence became intense; and it thenceforward was a question of daily consideration with her and her partisans, whether, by overturning the English *raj*, she might not forcibly obtain for her son the supremacy she so much coveted; and thus, when other causes for dissatisfaction and revolt began to exert their influence over the army and people of Hindostan, her whole energies were directed to the object of encouraging and extending the insurrectionary movement. In the course of the trial of the king, much was shown to this effect; but as no positive act of rebellion had been alleged against her, it was not deemed necessary, under the circumstances, to put the sultana, Zenat Mahal, upon her trial.

Reverting to the state of the city at the beginning of the year, it seems that, among other measures adopted for re-establishing order amidst its ruined streets and bazaars, a system of passes or permits was resorted to, by which a promiscuous influx of the native population was checked, and a regulation established, by which, such as were admitted came immediately under the eyes of the authorities. Each applicant, on seeking entrance to the city, was required to pay to an officer at the Kotwallah one rupee four annas; who, in return, gave to him a ticket, which, on presentation at the commissariat store, was exchanged for a *charpoy* (bedstead), and two *chukkees* (grindstones); thus providing each returning outcast with immediate facilities for procuring rest and food. The effect of this humane and politic arrangement, was to bring a great number of the former residents back to the city; and, according to a letter of the 20th of January, the place had already assumed an appearance of bustle and activity it had for months been a stranger to. "The Chandnee Chouk," observes the writer, "is now almost as much crowded of an evening as it was in days of yore; and the fusiliers' band, 'discoursing sweet music' opposite the church every Monday and Tuesday evening, attracts such a goodly display of beauty and

fashion, that were it not for the European guards and the shot-holes round about, people might almost forget the painful incidents of the past six months." The following gratifying account of the state of the country round Delhi, at the beginning of the year, was also furnished by a gentleman who had visited the city, on his way up the country, and who says—"I found the traffic upon the Grand Trunk-road just as considerable as it was this time last year. Carts and hackeries of every description, conveying goods and provisions of all kinds, and drawn by two, three, and five bullocks; bullocks and buffaloes, ponies and donkeys, laden pannier-fashion, with grain and other things; camels in hundreds, similarly burthened, besides vehicles containing native travellers, male and female, Mohammedan and Hindoo; to say nothing of the numerous dāk and transit carriages with European passengers, post-office vans, and bullock-train waggons, with government stores; with all of which several conveyances and beasts of burden the road is thronged along its entire length. No one ignorant of the anarchy which prevailed in these provinces a few months ago, would suspect that peace and order had ever been interrupted, judging from the traffic now seen upon the road." It should be observed, that these favourable sketches of the rebel city must be taken with great allowance for the evident disposition of the writers to see everything under the most cheerful aspect, since later delineations by no means support the views taken by them of the interior and exterior condition of Delhi at the beginning of 1858.

The administration of the province of which Delhi had formed the capital, was, early in the year, transferred to the able management of the chief commissioner in the Punjab—Sir John Lawrence, K.C.B.; who arrived at the seat of his new government about the 24th of February, and, by his judicious measures and energetic action upon every disturbed point, the districts round Delhi were speedily restored to at least a semblance of order. The first object of the new chief commissioner, was to convince the people of the province under his command that they were really once more in the hands of the British government; and, with that view, he issued a circular to the commissioners of the three districts of Delhi, Hissar, and Sirsa, directing that every community and section of a community, and individual within those districts, should

be made to repay the losses sustained by Europeans during the rebellion. The circular, which was entitled "Compensation to Sufferers by the Insurrection," was couched in the following terms:—

"Sirsa—Camp, Delhi, 5th March, 1858.

"Sir,—I am directed to draw your immediate attention to the recovery, from insurgent villages, of the value of the property plundered by them from the British government, or from its European British subjects, or European foreigners, or from native Christians, or from the natives of the country who threw in their lot with us, and suffered in consequence of signal fidelity.

"2nd. The chief commissioner is resolved, that every community, section of community, or individual who may have plundered or destroyed property, real or personal, belonging to any of the above-mentioned parties, shall be made to pay the value of the same to the utmost of his or their means, and within the earliest reasonable period; provided always that the exaction of this specific compensation shall be exclusive and irrespective of penal fines, or other legal penalties, to which the offenders may be subject.

"3rd. It will therefore be the duty of the local authorities to ascertain summarily, and estimate fairly, the value of the property plundered or destroyed, under whatever circumstances. Due care will also be taken to avoid exaggeration or mistaken estimates. Thus the parties who plundered or did the mischief having been detected, awards for specific sums will be declared against them, such awards being regulated exactly by the amount of the damages done; so that, in this respect, plunder and retribution may be in precise proportion. Perhaps, in some cases, the recovery of the full amount due will be impossible, and so we must content ourselves with exacting what we can.

"4th. Again, although, in some cases, it might be possible to exact more than the sum awarded, yet herein it is not necessary to grind such amount; it will suffice to take that, and no more. If the offenders deserve to have to pay more on account of general misconduct, then that matter can be dealt with hereafter.

"The mode of collecting or realising the amount in such individual cases, must be left very much to the discretion of the district officers. It will be well, however, to indicate certain methods open to adoption. In towns, or wards of towns, the amount can be levied by a house-tax or pro rate cess. Such cess may be either fixed on value of house, or in reference to particular guilt, if that can be discriminated, or in such like considerations.

"In villages, also, the plan may be adopted, especially in regard to men, agricultural residents; but as the inhabitants of such villages will, many of them, be cultivators or landowners, their land will afford a proper means of realisation. The money can be rateably fixed upon the land, due regard being had, however, to the fiscal demands on the soil and crops, and to the expediency of not impoverishing the occupant, so far as they seriously impair his power of cultivating. If the whole sum cannot be realised at once, yearly instalments might be accepted for moderate periods.

"Moreover, if the case should be aggravated, or if other modes of realisation should fail, proposals for

the sale, transfer, or farm of estates, parcels of land, and other real property, might be submitted to competent authority. Besides the above processes, there will be the ordinary distraint of individuals, and attachment of effects; there will be the ordinary process of seizing and confining for brief periods; provided, however, that no person be formally imprisoned in default of satisfaction of these awards. Then, as regards the disposal of the sums thus realised, if they be on account of government, there will be no difficulty in ascertaining as to how they should be credited; in some cases, however, the moneys will be on account of damages done to government houses or buildings in your district; as, for instance, a staging bungalow may have been partially burnt by an adjacent village. The bungalow will be economically repaired by hired labour, and the cost be recovered from the village. When the sums shall have been realised on account of officers or private individuals, known or unknown, they will be kept in deposit, and paid over as soon as possible to the proper recipients.

"Returns of the sums levied under these orders will be forwarded quarterly to this office.

"I am to add, that the chief commissioner is aware that the carrying out of this order will entail much labour on the district officers; but he trusts, seeing the desirability of the measure, they will co-operate in its execution.—I have, &c.—R. TEMPLE,

"Secretary to the Chief Commissioner."

The promulgation of this most just and reasonable order, was hailed with unfeigned satisfaction by the survivors of those who had suffered from the depredations of the rebels; but, as may be imagined, with feelings of increased hatred, and renewed desire of vengeance, on the part of those upon whom its weight was intended to fall, in the following proportion:—In the Delhi division, the Mohammedan inhabitants were indiscriminately mulcted of twenty-five per cent., or a quarter of the whole amount of their real property; while the proportion levied upon the Hindoos was, for some sufficient cause it may be presumed, reduced to ten per cent. of such property; but, with the fines so graduated, and the produce of the confiscated estates of persons known to have been engaged in the rebellion, and to have participated in the outrages connected with it, a very considerable fund was raised, out of which those who had seriously suffered in the traitorous struggle, were partially compensated for their losses. Meantime, investigations for the discovery of the property of absent individuals of known wealth, were of daily occurrence; and a strict search for buried treasure was carried on throughout the city with beneficial results, as well to individuals as to the government.

But although, under the wise and almost paternal administration of Sir John Lawrence, the storms that had agitated Delhi

were gradually subsiding, and a tranquil future for it seemed within the range of probability, a strange and curious struggle of opinions as to the ultimate disposition of the Mogul capital, absorbed the attention of Europeans in India; and the question, "What shall be done with Delhi?" now that the struggle for bare life had ceased, furnished a topic for earnest and animated discussion, not only within the place itself, but throughout Hindostan. Upon this subject, three very opposite views were entertained. One party advocating its destruction as a measure of national policy; another advising that it should be abandoned to gradual decay; and a third insisting upon the advantages derivable from its preservation as a city. It was, perhaps, not extraordinary, that when the place was first recaptured, a very general desire should be felt, under the influence of the intense indignation that prevailed, that not one stone should be left upon another, to tell where Delhi had once stood: and the advocates for this course argued that Delhi should be extinguished from the list of cities, because it had been the centre of disaffection, and the scene of the most important phase in the resistance to British authority; that the Mohammedans of India would ever think they had a national rallying point, so long as Delhi remained a mark upon the map of India; and that nothing less than the utter destruction of the city would convince them of the irresistible will and power of the English government. It was further urged, that even the memory of the place should be effaced, if possible, as being a dangerous traditional record of its once national importance. The advocates for its gradual and unobstructed decay, and ultimate desertion, urged, that to destroy Delhi at once, would have the effect of rendering it a perpetual object of regret to the Mohammedan populations of India; whereas, to let it sink gradually to decay and insignificance, would produce only feelings of contempt and indifference. No tradition of sovereignty would attach to a neglected and insignificant village, which in time it must become, and in which a population of pauper Musulmans only would congregate amidst the ruins of its palaces, to scramble for the occasional charity of travellers. They recommended that the European military station at Delhi should be removed to Hansi; that the arsenal should be established at Ferozepore; or, still better,

that an entirely new European city should be built lower down the Jumna; and that Delhi should then be left to be supported by natives only, the inhabitants being burdened by a special and heavy capitation tax, as a punishment for past treason. The third party strenuously advocated the preservation of the city, and the restoration of such of its more important features as had suffered by the ravages of war. In support of this view, the arguments went to show, that geographically and politically, Delhi was peculiarly adapted for the capital of an important district; that its site was originally chosen by men who looked forward to the permanent maintenance of power in the north-west regions of India; that, as a commercial *entrepôt*, it was the point at which the two great streams of Central Asian trade diverged to Calcutta and Bombay; that, as a military cantonment, the city commanded the Jumna at the best point for crossing the river; and that the Mogul palace could be converted into an admirable fortress, to be garrisoned by British troops only; while the walls of the city, brought at one point to a narrower sweep, would require a smaller force to defend them, and, at the same time, would protect the magazines, and keep out the marauding Goojurs and Meewatties.

But while these various opinions were discussed, little change had really taken place in the desolate aspect of the city up to the end of March. The outer walls, it is true, continued standing, with their breaches hastily and roughly filled up. All the gates, except the three already mentioned, were still kept closed, but not destroyed; the shattered Cashmere barrier had been temporarily replaced, but not repaired; the English church had been repaired and painted; and the college, riddled by balls, was now converted into a barrack; the magazine remained as it was left by the explosion effected by Lieutenant Willoughby in the preceding May; but the palace, now the prison-house of its royal owner, and the head-quarters of the British force at Delhi, had sustained but little injury. In the principal avenue of the city, the Chandnee Chouk,* with its crowded shops and splendidly picturesque buildings on either side, every house had been plundered, and bore traces of the havoc that had reigned within them; nor

did the little display of property, as it slowly accumulated along its extent, under the protection of English bayonets, disguise the utter ruin that followed the insane outbreak of the preceding year. To a stranger, the population that traversed the spacious street in March, 1858, might seem large; but to those who had known Delhi, and its numerous and thronged thoroughfares previous to the rebellion, it seemed but as the shadow of the life that had once animated it. The Red Mosque—within whose walls Nadir Shah sat in sullen meditation on the 17th of February, 1739, while the swords of his infuriated soldiers were fleshed in the bodies of near 100,000 of the Hindoo inhabitants of Delhi—still remained a blushing record of the atrocious act of unappeasable vengeance. The old Kotwallah, or police-station—where but a few months previous, the mutilated corpses of murdered Europeans had been exposed to the ribald jeers of a traitorous population, and before which, also, in just retribution for their unmanly crimes, the dishonoured carcasses of the ruffian princes by whom those murders were sanctioned and encouraged, were also exposed to public scorn—still remained; but in its front now arose three immense gibbets, on whose fatal arms had already been suspended about 300 of the traitors, who had taken part in the revolting outrages of May; and which were still outspread to receive more offerings to retributive justice. With regard to the temper of the native population now within the city, it was described as more than simply respectful to the Europeans, and, in fact, as “cringing.” “Fear,” it was written, “possessed every soul; and never was a conquest more complete than is, for the present, that of Delhi and its neighbourhood. But the present disposition of the native mind in Delhi towards us, is one which no wise man can wish permanently to continue; although no wise man will deny that such a disposition was necessarily created, if British rule is ever more to be asserted over this vast and captured city.”

In the midst of the arrangements for the restoration of order, and the rehabilitation of the place by the native shopkeepers and others, a rumour gained currency that an attempt was about to be made by Nana Sahib to rescue the king, who was then awaiting the confirmation of the sentence passed upon him; the proceedings and evidence taken upon his trial, having been

* Or Chandra Chauk; from “chandra,” the moon, and “chauk,” market, or place of sale in a city.

forwarded to the Court of Directors in England for its decision. The effect of this report was simply a strengthening of the guards to whom the safe keeping of the prisoner was confided, and the issue of an order from the military commandant, to dispatch his majesty at once in the event of an attempt to rescue him from his captivity, and from the doom he had wantonly brought down upon himself and his unfortunate race. The stringency of this extreme order was partly necessitated by the gradually perceptible assurance of many of the natives, who began to exchange their tone of obsequious servility for that of insolent indifference, if not defiance. It was publicly asserted among them that reverses had occurred which crippled the British resources, and that the native troops would, in a short time, recover Delhi from its infidel captors; that the events at Lucknow were falsely reported in favour of the British, who, in fact, had been there signally defeated; and that the time was fast approaching, when the Mogul city would be again, and for ever, freed from the pollution of the Feringhee *raj*. It was probably with a view to show the unconcern with which these reports were received, that an opportunity was seized to exhibit as well the power as the generosity of the British government, under the following circumstances.

A rissaldar of the irregular native cavalry, named Hidayut Ali, was, at the period of the outbreak in May, on leave at his native village, Mahonah, in the Goorgaon district; and while there, thirty-two fugitives, consisting of men, women, and children, who had escaped from Bhurtapore, reached the village. The rissaldar received the whole of them into his house—treated them with kindness, supplied them with clothes, and for eight days provided for them a separate and liberal table. When, at length, messengers arrived from Delhi to tell him it was known that he had Europeans under his protection, and that the king's troops would be sent against him, and to bring the Kaffirs to Delhi, the man raised a force of the villagers, who appear to have been attached to him, and who, for his sake, escorted the fugitives to the extreme limit of the district under his influence, and placed them in safety; where they remained until preparations had been matured for their further progress towards a European station. This was accordingly effected, and the whole

party reached Agra in safety during the month of June, 1857. For this loyal and meritorious conduct, it was considered proper by the government that a public avowal of its approbation should be made by the chief commissioner at Delhi; who, accordingly, on the 21st of April, 1858, held a grand durbar, at the residency, which was attended by a large assembly of Punjabees, Ghoorkas, Hindostanees, and Europeans, in the presence of whom the rissaldar was addressed by the commissioner in terms of unqualified encomium of his fidelity and gallantry. He was then, in the name of the government, presented with a sword of honour, valued at 1,000 rupees, and also with a sunnud, under the signature of the governor-general in council, conveying to him, and to his heirs for ever, in free jaghire, his native village of Mahonah, the annual revenue of which, at the time, amounted to 5,400 rupees.

A less agreeable spectacle was shortly afterwards afforded to the inhabitants of the city, in the execution, by hanging, of the king's soothsayer, Hussun Ushkurie, on the 29th of May, for his connection with the outbreak of the previous year. As no one of particular note had recently been executed in front of the Khotwallee, the circumstance occasioned a large gathering of the native population, who looked on in silent wonder, that so powerful a man as the king's soothsayer, who had given ten years of his own existence for the prolongation of that of the king to a like extent, should not be able to deliver himself from the hands of the Kaffirs.

A test of the improved and settled state of the district governed by Sir John Lawrence, was supplied by the fact, that the customs' collection for the month of July, 1858, amounted to 6,557,800 rupees; being an increase of the same collection over that of July, 1855, of 58,993 rupees; and for that of 1856, of 59,245. For the month of July, 1857, there was no collection of revenue whatever in the city and district around Delhi.

The amount of prize-money reported in October, 1858, for the capture of Delhi, reached to twenty-eight lacs of rupees, or £280,000 sterling; but its appropriation had not yet been finally decided upon. The famous crystal block and marble platform, which adorned the Dewas Khan, or principal hall of audience, in the Mogul palace, were forwarded to Calcutta for transmission to England; and the crown and jewels of

the ex-king, with those of his family, were also transmitted to the Indian metropolis, to augment the prize fund by their sale.

Before closing the present chapter, it will be proper to refer briefly to the operations of the troops dispatched in various directions from Delhi, in pursuit of the discomfited and fugitive rebels. Of the proceedings of the column under Brigadier Greathed, mention has already been made;* and it will be remembered, that Brigadier Showers, with a force under his command, also left Delhi on the 23rd of September, for a special purpose near the tombs in the vicinity of the city; and that the object having been accomplished,† the brigadier returned to the capital, where he remained until the 1st of October, when he was again dispatched, with a column of considerable strength, to operate in the adjacent districts west and north-west of Delhi. The purposes for which this force was put in motion were also effectually accomplished, and it returned to headquarters on the 9th of the ensuing month, having, in the course of its march out and home, taken four important forts, burnt many obnoxious villages, and captured, besides the rajahs of Jhujjur and Babulghur, about seventy guns and eight lacs of rupees, with a vast quantity of ammunition, and many horses. Three days after the return of this force, upon receipt of news from Rewaree (a town about forty-seven miles south-west of Delhi), another column was formed under Colonel Gerrard, of the 14th native infantry, for service in that direction. This force consisted of the 1st fusiliers and Sikh infantry, with some carabinieri, guides, and artillery, joined by parties of irregular Cashmerians, Mooltanees, and others. With this miscellaneous gathering Colonel Gerrard marched to Rewaree, and from thence to the town of Narnol in Jhujjur, where a rebel chief, Sunnund Khan (a relative of the rajah already made prisoner by Brigadier Showers), had taken post with a strong party of the Joudpore mutineers. Colonel Gerrard immediately charged the enemy with his cavalry, and drove them into a fortified serai in the town, which,

after a severe but brief struggle, was carried by the infantry. In this affair one officer only fell; but that one, unfortunately, was the commander, Colonel Gerrard. Among the slain on the part of the rebels, was also the chief in command, Sunnund Khan.

Early in November, another column, under the orders of Colonel Seaton, marched from Delhi in a south-eastern direction, between the Jumna and the Ganges, clearing the road of small detached parties of the enemy as it advanced; and, on the 13th of December, it arrived at Gangheree, a large village on the Kalee Nuddee, twenty-four miles from Allygurh, where a small force from Bolundshuhur, under Colonel Farquhar, had just previously halted. The rebels, who were in great force in the neighbourhood, had received information of the arrival of Colonel Farquhar's party, but appear to have been ignorant of its junction with that of Colonel Seaton, which consisted of between three and four thousand men, a large proportion of which were cavalry. The united force had scarcely been encamped two hours, when a strong body of the enemy's cavalry appeared in front of it, making demonstrations of an intention to attack the position, and commenced a heavy fire from two 6-pounders and a 9-pounder. Without waiting an instant, the carabinieri and Hodson's horse, with some artillery, advanced towards the rebels, and dashing in amongst their ranks, overthrew and cut down numbers of them; the carabinieri then charged the guns. As they approached, three charges of grape were poured into them at a hundred and fifty yards' distance, which told fearfully; but, without hesitating, the gallant fellows rode on, charged home, sabred the gunners, and took the guns. In this affair the enemy lost, in killed alone, between four and five hundred. The carabinieri lost twenty-five horses out of seventy, and the other cavalry in a nearly equal proportion. The loss of the British, in men, was reported at twelve killed and fifty wounded.

On the following day Colonel Seaton pursued his march towards Futteghur, about three miles from Furruckabad;‡ and, on

* See *ante*, p. 60.

† See *ante*, p. 58.

‡ Furruckabad (Happy Abode) is the capital of a small district of the Doab, similarly named, and is situated at a short distance from the Ganges, about 185 miles south-east of Delhi. The town, which was founded by a Patan colony, some 150 years since, is surrounded by a strong wall, and in its time has been one of the principal seats of commerce for

Upper Hindostan. The buildings generally are commodious, and even elegant; and its streets are of good width, and well shaded with fine trees. For its flourishing condition of late years, it has been chiefly indebted to the neighbourhood of the British cantonments at Futteghur (the Fort of Victory), about three miles to the south-east of the town. In 1805, the Mahrattas, under Holkar, amounting to

the 18th, came up with the enemy at Putteeala—a town about sixty miles north-west of the place first named. When about three miles from their position, the force was halted and the line formed, having the horse artillery on either flank, and the cavalry on the right and rear. Colonel Seaton then advanced: as he came on, the enemy opened fire from a battery of twelve guns, which they had formed in front of the town. The British artillery replied; and, under cover of its fire, the infantry advanced; but it was no part of the rebel tactics to wait for a close acquaintance with the approaching line of bayonets, when brought down to the charge: their artillery ceased to fire, and in a moment the whole force turned and fled. The English cavalry and artillery then dashed on with a cheer, and completed the rout of the enemy, whose guns, standing camp, ammunition, and supplies were all captured, and between seven and eight hundred men were killed. The rebels, on this occasion, were commanded by Ahmed Yer Khan and Molson Ally, two Mohammedan zemindars, whom the nawab had appointed lieutenant-governors of the eastern and western districts of Futteghur, and who were amongst the first to fly from the field. One of their subordinate officers was, however, not sufficiently active to escape, and falling into the hands of the victors alive, was presently tried by drum-head court-martial, and condemned to be shot as a traitor. In this action the British loss was merely nominal.

While halting for the necessary rest of the troops, the column was joined by a small force from the garrison at Agra, under Major Eld, and the march was resumed, clearing the district towards Etawah and Mynpoorie. The self-ennobled personage who styled himself rajah of the latter place, and who had fled at the approach of Great-hed's column in October,* afterwards returned to his capital, and expelled the officials left there by the brigadier; and again had managed to collect a formidable band of rebels (troops and budmashes) around him, although his palace was destroyed, and his treasury and jewels carried off. The punishment unavoidably deferred in October was now to be inflicted.

20,000 men, were signally defeated by General Lake, in a conflict under the walls of Furruckabad, when 3,000 Mahrattas were cut to pieces, and the rest of

On the 27th of December, Colonel Seaton once more came within reach of the enemy, who were favourably posted behind a tope, about a mile from Mynpoorie, and there appeared disposed to await his attack. He at once made the necessary arrangements, and commenced operations with a rapid discharge of his light guns, which was promptly replied to by the rebel artillery. The colonel then ordered his cavalry round to the right of the enemy's position, to attack his flank. While this movement was being carried out, the infantry, led by Major Eld, deployed into line, and advanced at the charge upon the enemy's right. As the troops marched forward, a sharp fire was kept up by the artillery of both forces; but again, at the first flash of the English bayonets, as the bright steel gleamed in the morning sunlight, the rebels turned and fled! A rapid and precise fire from the artillery and rifles, told with terrible effect upon the flying host; and the cavalry, which had now cleared the tope and reached the open ground, dashed off in pursuit of the fugitives, and cut them down without resistance, along a distance of seven miles. Here again the rout was complete, and six guns fell into the hands of the victors. The loss to the enemy upon this occasion was estimated at from 250 to 300 men. Colonel Seaton, being thus master of the position, advanced upon Mynpoorie, which he took possession of without further resistance; but the self-styled rajah had, as on the former occasion, secured his own safety by a timely flight. The following telegram announced the occupation of the town by Colonel Seaton's force:—

"Mynpoorie, Dec. 27th, 3 P.M.

"Found the enemy this morning posted behind some high trees, a mile west of the city. He opened with four guns as I advanced. The horse artillery guns made a detour to the right, supported by cavalry, the heavy guns and infantry following. The enemy, finding himself cut off, soon began to retreat. Took all his guns, and cut up 250. As yet, none reported killed on our side."

The victory at Putteeala had cleared the road to Futteghur; and by the successful movement on Mynpoorie, Colonel Seaton was enabled to open communications with the commander-in-chief, and await his further orders for operations in the Doab.

the enormous army only escaped by the superior fleetness of their horses.

* See *ante*, p. 72.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GWALIOR CONTINGENT; FIDELITY OF SCINDIA; DEFECTION OF HIS TROOPS; ADVANCE ON CAWNPORE; ATTACKED BY GENERAL WINDHAM AT BHOWSEE; THE BRITISH POSITION ATTACKED; RETREAT OF THE TROOPS; THE ENGLISH CAMP ABANDONED; CORRESPONDENCE; THE CAPSIZED GUN; A MIDNIGHT COUNCIL; ARRANGEMENTS FOR ACTION OF 28TH NOVEMBER; BATTLE OF CAWNPORE; DEATH OF BRIGADIER WILSON; DEFEAT OF THE BRITISH TROOPS; DIARY OF EVENTS; CORRESPONDENCE; ARRIVAL OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AND THE CONVOY FROM LUCKNOW; GENERAL CARTHEW'S REPORT; STATE OF WINDHAM'S TROOPS; REPORT OF GENERAL WINDHAM; PUBLIC OPINION THEREON; AN AFTER-THOUGHT; COMMENCEMENT OF DECEMBER AT CAWNPORE; TOPOGRAPHY OF THE CITY AND ENVIRONS; POSITIONS OF THE ADVERSE FORCES; ACTION OF 6TH DECEMBER; DEFEAT AND FLIGHT OF THE REBELS; DESPATCHES FROM THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AND GENERAL MANSFIELD; PURSUIT OF FUGITIVE REBELS; REPORT OF BRIGADIER GRANT AT SERAI-GHAT; RESULT OF OPERATIONS AT CAWNPORE IN DECEMBER.

THE defection of some portions of the troops composing the Gwalior contingent of the Maharajah Scindia, on the 14th of June and the 4th of July, 1857, has already been noticed;* and it is now necessary to trace the proceedings of the remainder of that force, before we advert to the operations of the army under the command of Sir Colin Campbell, after his return to Cawnpore in November.

The position of Scindia had been, from a very early period of the disturbances, one that called for the exercise of a vast amount of firmness and sagacity. At the commencement of the outbreak the maharajah was but twenty-three years of age; but, from the completion of his eighteenth year, he had displayed high qualifications for the government of his country, which had greatly benefited by his rule; and, at the same time, he had secured the respect of the British authorities in India, as well by his unswerving friendship as by his prudent and dignified conduct. It was not therefore surprising, when the hour of trial arrived, and his sincerity was tested, that it should be found the confidence reposed in him had been worthily bestowed. The revolt of the native army of Bengal against the authority of the Company, with whom he was upon terms of strict amity, naturally placed Scindia in a position of great embarrassment between the British government on the one hand, and the troops of his contingent on the other. This force, which he was bound by treaty to maintain for the service of the Company, consisted chiefly of men gathered from different parts of Hindostan proper, and from Oude; who very early exhibited their sympathy with the aspirations for independence, and revenge, of their fel-

low-countrymen on the Jumna and the Ganges. His own personal army consisted chiefly of Mahrattas—a race hitherto proved to be rancorously hostile to the Hindoos, and therefore not likely to be influenced by any considerations on their behalf; but yet, in a general struggle with the Feringhee for the restoration of the Mogul dynasty to the throne of Hindostan, it became impossible to foresee how long the antipathy of races would be able to resist the influence of a combined effort in favour of an independent native sovereignty.

From the time of the defection of a part of the contingent force in June, 1857, nothing but the most strenuous exertions and unremitting vigilance on the part of Scindia, had kept the disaffected portion of the remainder from joining the rebel force at Delhi. These were, however, kept harmless by the firm yet conciliatory policy of their ruler, who himself continued to be their paymaster, and, to a certain extent, ensured their fidelity by keeping their pay slightly in arrear. During July and August, occasional desertions were reported; and some minor detachments at isolated stations, marched off to join the insurgents; but the main body still exhibited an appearance of subordination and fidelity. At length, the mutineers of Holkar's contingent, from Indore, arrived in the vicinity of Gwalior, and the effect of their association with the troops of Scindia soon became apparent in the disturbed state of the contingent. Many of the men belonging to the latter were now seduced from their allegiance; and at length, on the 5th of September, a considerable body of them deserted, taking with them seven guns and a large quantity of ammunition. Two days afterwards, the native officers of the contingent

* Vol. I., pp. 417—546.

waited upon the maharajah, and announced the determination of the whole of the remaining force to join their brethren in arms against the English *raj*; and demanded of his highness their arrears of pay, with food and conveyance either to Agra or Cawnpore. Circumstances now assumed a serious aspect at Gwalior, and, after some unavoidable delay, the state of affairs was reported to the governor-general by telegraph from Mhow, in the following message:—

“Mhow, September 28th, 1857.

“Scindia, on the 7th, was insolently pressed by the contingent mutineers of Gwalior, for pay, for carriages, and for a leader to head them on a march to Agra. Scindia refused; but found it advisable to place eleven guns in position, and to intrench. On the 7th, the Mhow and Indore rebels were at the Chumbul, where they had collected fifteen boats, and, on the 8th, were crossing baggage. On the 9th, the contingent mutineers advanced guns out of Mora, raised religious standard of Hindoo Islam, and fired a salute of twenty-two guns. They seized carriage from neighbouring villages.”

To the demands of the mutinous contingent, Scindia returned an immediate and decided refusal; and, during the excitement that followed among the men, apprehensions for the personal safety of the maharajah himself were more than once entertained. Fortunately, the greater portion of his Mahrattas continued faithful to their prince; and the chiefs and landowners of the neighbouring districts having tendered him the assistance of their retainers, the gathering storm passed over for a short time, and the troops, reassuming an appearance of fidelity, returned to their duty.

When the united body of Indore and Gwalior mutineers and traitors marched from the vicinity of the latter city on the 5th of September, they proceeded, as noticed in the telegram, towards the Chumbul, which river they crossed on the 8th, and took possession of the fort of Dholpore (about thirty miles distant from Agra), where they remained, supporting themselves by plundering the adjacent districts, until the end of the month, occupied in concerting a plan of attack upon Agra, which they attempted to carry into effect on the 10th of October, with the result already described.*

At length, on the 15th of October, the

whole of the remaining troops of the Gwalior contingent, with a number of the Mahrattas, consisting altogether of six regiments, four batteries, and a siege-train, rose in open mutiny, again hoisted the standard of rebellion, and, without offering any injury to Scindia or the inhabitants of his capital, marched from their cantonments, and took the direction of Jaloun—a large town of Bundelcund, about twenty-five miles west of Calpee; in the neighbourhood of which place they encamped, and remained during the rest of the month, without attempting any offensive movement except against the local authorities, but gathering reinforcements and supplies from various quarters. On the 11th of November, a column of the mutinous force, consisting of 3,000 men, with eight guns, was pushed on to Calpee (about forty-five miles south-west of Cawnpore), where it remained in readiness to cross the Jumna. Here the advanced column was gradually augmented by the reserve from Jaloun, and by a large body of rebellious troops from Banda and other disturbed districts; and at length, on the 21st of November, the whole force, amounting to 20,000 men, with thirty-eight pieces of cannon, commenced crossing the river preparatory to an attack on Cawnpore.

The importance of this place as a central point of strategy, was obvious to the commanders of both forces. On the north side of it, and merely divided by the river, lay the kingdom of Oude, with its capital, Lucknow—so important in relation to the occupancy of the surrounding territory; on the south-east was the city of Allahabad, commanding the great line of route for troops from Calcutta; on the north-west, Agra and Delhi lay on the direct route from the Punjab; while, on the south and south-west, were the roads along which armies could approach from the two southern presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The possession of Cawnpore was therefore of the utmost importance to either party; and Sir Colin Campbell had directed his attention to the maintenance of that position previous to his departure for the relief of Lucknow; its safety being entrusted to General Windham, whose gallantry at the Redan, before Sebastopol, had won for him an imperishable celebrity—the instructions given to him by the commander-in-chief being, to remain quiet in his position unless attacked, and to keep the communication safely open

* See *ante*, p. 62.

from Lucknow, *viâ* Cawnpore, to Allahabad.

The movements of the Gwalior and Indore troops were, from time to time, reported to General Windham by spies; and, about the middle of November, he learned that the rebel force, with a formidable park of artillery, had arrived within twenty miles of Cawnpore. The troops under the command of General Windham, comprising about 2,000 men, at this time occupied an intrenched position or fort in the south-eastern suburb of the city, at no great distance from the intrenchment formerly held by Sir Hugh Wheeler. The position was close to the Ganges, and completely covered the bridge of boats which communicated with the Lucknow-road; but unfortunately for the immediate exigency, occasioned by the advance of the rebel force, the city of Cawnpore lay directly between the position held by the general and the Calpee-road, by which the enemy approached. It became necessary, therefore, by a speedy movement, to secure a point of defence against an attack from the threatened quarter, which should place the town in his rear, and check the approach of the rebels before they reached it. Leaving, accordingly, a portion of his troops to protect the intrenchment and bridge, he proceeded with the remainder to Dhouboulee, a village on the north-west of Cawnpore, on the Calpee-road, where he took up a position, having the Ganges terminal branch canal in his front, and the road and canal bridge at a short distance from his left flank.

On the 25th of November, the enemy was reported to be in force within fifteen miles from Cawnpore; and General Windham determined to arrest their further progress while yet at a distance from the city left to his protection. At three o'clock, therefore, on the morning of the 26th, he marched from his new position at Dhouboulee to encounter the rebel force, leaving his camp-equipage and baggage under guard, and having with him about 1,200 infantry, consisting of portions of the 34th, 82nd, 88th, and rifles, a hundred mounted sowars, and eight guns. Having advanced between eight and nine miles on the Calpee-road, the troops arrived at Bhowsee, near the Pandoo Nuddee, on the opposite side of which the enemy was found strongly posted. The British force advanced to the attack with a line of skirmishers along its whole front, having supports on each flank,

and a reserve in the centre. The enemy opened a heavy fire of artillery from field and siege guns; but the English troops carried the position with a rush, cheering as they went; and a village, half a mile in the rear of the enemy, was speedily cleared. The mutineers then broke from their ranks, and took to a disorderly flight, leaving behind them two howitzers and a gun. Upon reaching a height on the opposite side of the village, in pursuit of the flying enemy, it was discovered that the main body of the rebel force was close at hand; the troops engaged being only the leading division. To invite an attack by this overwhelming force, was deemed likely to endanger the safety of the city; and General Windham, upon consideration, resolved to return to Cawnpore, towards which he was closely followed by the enemy, until he reached the bridge over the canal; and thus leaving the position he had occupied in the morning in his rear, he encamped for the night on the Jewee plain, at a short distance from the north-western angle of the city; but keeping the latter between his force and the intrenched fort near the bridge of boats on the Ganges.

On the following day (the 27th), the enemy, who had advanced in great strength during the night, commenced a spirited attack upon the British force, with an overwhelming discharge from their heavy guns. The attack was sudden, and did not appear to have been anticipated by the general, who speedily found himself threatened on all sides, and very seriously assailed on his front and right flank; but, in spite of the heavy bombardment which continued without intermission during five hours, the troops held their ground, and so far prevented the direct advance of the enemy. At length, the pertinacity of the attacks upon his front and flanks, induced General Windham to ascertain personally what might be doing in his rear; and there, to his surprise and mortification, he found that the enemy, by turning his flank, had penetrated into the town, and at that moment were attacking his intrenched position near the river. An order to retire to the fort was immediately given to the troops, and it was obeyed with such an unusual celerity that a great portion of the camp-equipage and baggage was left to the mercy of the enemy. This booty was of course eagerly seized; and among other valuable property, some 500 tents, besides

saddlery, harness, and camp requisites of all kinds, fed the bonfires that were lighted that night to announce the advantage gained by the rebel army.

The intrenched fort was eventually reached by General Windham's troops, and the protection requisite for the passage over the Ganges was happily continued. For that night the troops remained strictly on the defensive.

Bitter, indeed, was the mortification with which the survivors of this unfortunate day contemplated the disastrous occurrences that had signalised it. One private letter from an officer says—"You will read the account of this day's fighting with astonishment; for it tells how English troops, with their trophies, and their mottoes, and their far-famed bravery, were repulsed, and lost their camp, their baggage, and their position, to the scouted and despised natives of India! The beaten Feringhees, as the enemy has now a right to call them, have retreated to their intrenchments, amid overturned tents, pillaged baggage, men's kits, fleeing camels, elephants, horses, and servants! All this is most melancholy and disgraceful."—Another officer, who has given his notes in the shape of a diary, affords a vivid idea of the occurrences of the 27th and 28th of November, in the following passages. It should be observed that the writer was the bearer of an important message to General Windham, and had arrived at Cawnpore, from Futtehpore, with a detachment of rifles, on the very day of the repulse of Windham's troops. He says—"The twelve o'clock gun *struck* as I reached the intrenchment, and this was followed by a general cannonade. General Windham had gone out to meet the enemy, and I was directed to Brigadier Wilson, as commanding officer in the intrenchment. When I had delivered my message, he sent for Captain Morphy, the brigade-major, to whom I repeated it. I then went to the hotel, where I took up my quarters; and as I sat in the verandah, after a comfortable breakfast, a dhooly passed, having a man within it, whose head had just been shattered by a ball: it was a horrid spectacle that, my first glimpse of military glory! The roar of artillery and the sharp crack of rifles continued; and I proceeded to the gate of the fort to inquire why my baggage had not been sent up to my quarters. Between the hotel and the fort, the garrison provost, who was my guide, showed me the

house and verandah bespattered with blood, where the ladies and children were murdered by order of Nana Sahib; the tree against which the children were dashed; and the hideous well, now closed up, into which the mutilated and reeking bodies were thrown. On arriving at the gate of the fort, I found that the people, civil and military, were rushing into it from their houses and tents, with whatever clothes and articles of value they could snatch up. I had ordered my gharry-waggon into the fort; but the driver went away with the horse, and I saw him no more. He, however, left the vehicle.

"3.20 P.M.—Saw our troops retreating into the outer intrenchment. A regular panic followed. Trains of elephants, camels, horses, bullock-waggons, and coolies, came in at the principal gate, laden with stuff. The principal buildings in the fort are the general hospital, the sailors' hospital, the post-office, and the commissariat cellars. Around these houses, which are scattered, crowds of camels, bullocks, and horses were collected, fastened by ropes to stakes in the ground; and, among the animals, piles of trunks, beds, chairs, and miscellaneous furniture and baggage. There was scarcely room to move. The fort may cover three or four acres, I should say. Met one of the chaplains hastening into the intrenchment. He had left everything in his tent outside. The servants almost everywhere abandoned their masters when they heard the guns. Mounted officers were galloping across the rough ground between the inner and outer intrenchments, and dhooly after dhooly, with its red curtains down, concealing some poor victim, passed on to the hospitals. The poor fellows were brought in, shot, cut, shattered, and wounded in every imaginable way; and as they went by, raw stumps might be seen hanging over the sides of the dhoolies, literally like torn butcher-meat. The agonies which I saw some of them endure during the surgical operations, were such as no tongue or pen can describe. The surgeons, who did their utmost, were so overworked, that many sufferers lay bleeding for hours before it was possible to attend to them. Here and there, both outside the hospitals and within them, a man lay on his bloody litter breathing out his life. The groans and cries were heartrending. I saw one sailor carried in a litter on the shoulders of four men; he was severely wounded, but kept up his

spirits amazingly, and spoke to his comrades as he passed, quite jocularly.

"But I must be brief, else I shall lose the mail. The retreat is thus explained. General Windham, who repulsed the enemy yesterday, went out to-day about noon to attack the three divisions of the Gwalior rebels under Nana Sahib. Windham was routed, I regret to say, and lost his camp, with 500 tents, the mess plate of four regiments, no end of tents, saddlery and harness in an unfinished state, and, it is said, private property valued at £50,000. He left his flank exposed, and made no provision for the safety of his camp. This has been a most disastrous affair. Felt the want of something to eat in the evening, but could procure only some biscuit from the commissariat. Slept in my waggon."

During the hasty retreat of the 27th, one of the guns was unluckily capsized in a narrow street of the city. It was not thought prudent at the time to retard the flight of the troops to the intrenchment, by staying to get it again upon its wheels; but at night, 100 men of the 64th regiment were ordered to assist some men of the naval brigade in their endeavour to secure the gun. This was a delicate task in the midst of a city crowded with the enemy; but it was accomplished; and the occurrence is thus described by an officer of the naval brigade engaged in the affair:—

"We marched off, under the guidance of a native, who said he would take us to the spot where the gun lay. We told him he should be well rewarded if he brought us to the gun; but if he brought us into a trap, we had a soldier by him 'at full cock,' ready to blow his brains out. We passed our outside pickets, and entered the town through very narrow streets, without a single nigger being seen, or a shot fired on either side. We crept along; not a soul spoke a word—all was as still as death; and after marching in this way into the very heart of the town, our guide brought us to the spot where our gun was capsized. The soldiers were posted on each side, and then we went to work. Not a man spoke above his breath, and each stone was laid down quietly. When we thought we had cleared enough, I ordered the men to put their shoulders to the wheels and gun; and when all was ready, and every man had his pound before him, I said, 'Heave!' and up she righted. We then limbered up, called the soldiers to follow, and we marched into the

intrenchment with our gun without a shot being fired. When we got in, the colonel returned us his best thanks, and gave us all an extra ration of grog. We then returned to our guns in the battery."

While this interesting night episode was progressing in the very heart of the enemy's position, General Windham and his superior officers were engaged in consultation as to the means by which to avert the mischief that had gathered around them. Had it been possible to obtain reliable information concerning the position of the enemy's artillery, a night attack would have been resorted to; but as no such information could be obtained, it was resolved to defer operations till the morrow. Accordingly, early on the morning of the 28th of November, the force, divided into four sections, was thus distributed:—One, under Colonel Walpole, was ordered to defend the advanced portions of the town on the left side of the canal; a second, under Brigadier Wilson, was to hold the intrenchment, and establish a strong picket on the extreme right; a third, under Brigadier Carthew, to hold the Bithoor-road, in advance of the intrenchment, receiving support, if necessary, from the picket there; and the fourth, under General Windham himself, was to defend the portion of the town nearest the Ganges, on the left of the canal, and support Colonel Walpole, if requisite. These arrangements were specially intended to protect the intrenchment and the bridge of boats—so vitally important in connection with the operations of the commander-in-chief in Oude; but the position of the whole was to be purely defensive.

By the time the troops had taken the positions assigned to them, the enemy came on in great strength, and a severe struggle ensued. The Gwalior mutineers had been joined by another force, led by Nana Sahib in person, and by a third, commanded by his brother Bhola Sahib; and altogether, the insurgent army numbered about 21,000 men, besides an immense train of bud-mashes and Goojurs in quest of plunder. This armament marched unmolested over the ground that had been occupied, or traversed, by the British troops on the preceding day, and reached the vicinity of the intrenchment without encountering any opposition. Colonel Walpole's division, on the left, was the first met with: his men sustained the onslaught of the rebels with great firmness, and, after some hard fighting, drove them

back with a tremendous sacrifice of life : no prisoners were taken ; and it was only by this division that any perceptible advantage was gained. Being ably seconded by Colonels Woodford and Watson, and Captain Green, Colonel Walpole not only repulsed the enemy, but also captured two of his 18-pounder guns. Brigadier Carthew, who struggled throughout the day against a formidable body of the enemy, was at length compelled to retire from his position as the evening drew on—a movement which incurred the dissatisfaction of the commander-in-chief, when the brigade report was laid before him. Brigadier Wilson, who was eager to render service at the point so hardly pressed, led his section of troops, chiefly consisting of the 64th regiment, against four guns, which had been placed by the rebels in front of Carthew's position. In the face of the enemy, and under a murderous fire from their guns, the veteran officer and his gallant men advanced for more than half a mile up a ravine, commanded by high ground in front, as well as on both sides ; and, from a ridge which crowned the front, the four 9-pounders played upon them with terrible effect. Nothing daunted, they rushed forward, and had nearly reached the battery, when they were met by a large force of the enemy, till then concealed in a bend of the ravine. With such odds to encounter, further progress was impossible, and the troops were compelled to retreat, the officers falling at almost every step. Brigadier Wilson, Major Stirling, and Captains Macrae and Morphy, fell in this unfortunate affair, which was a repulse in every sense of the term. The surviving troops retired to the intrenchment ; and, on the night of the 28th of November, the mutineers revelled as victors in the city of Cawnpore. Everything in the place that had belonged to the British troops or native Christians, was now at their mercy ; and among the booty thus acquired, were 10,000 rounds of Enfield cartridges, the mess plate of four of the Queen's regiments, the paymaster's chests, and a large amount of miscellaneous property.

The diary to which reference has already been made, affords some interesting details of this disastrous affair of the 28th. The writer commences thus:—

“ Saturday, November 28th.

“ 9.40 A.M.—Heavy firing on our right.

“ 9.50 A.M.—Heavy firing on our left.

“ 11.15 A.M.—Brigadier Wilson has been

carried into his tent mortally wounded, shot through the back and left lung. He lived for two hours, and then calmly sunk to his rest. His last moments proved him to be a hero and a Christian. The chaplain remained with him till he died.

“ The conduct of the 64th regiment this morning has justly excited admiration. Brigadier Wilson asked General Windham to allow him to charge the enemy with the 64th, of which he was colonel. Permission was granted. The regiment advanced in the face of the enemy, and under a murderous fire, for more than half a mile, up a ravine commanded by high ground in front, as well as on the right and left. From the ridge in front four 9-pounders played upon them as they went forward. The left flank of the Gwalior rebels rested on the Ganges, and their guns were protected by dense columns of troops, who lay under cover, and were strongly supported by cavalry on their left. After disputing every inch of the ground, their front line was driven back by the steady and determined fire of the 64th. It then appeared, that overwhelming numbers of the hostile force lay concealed in three or four parallels behind. These rose and met the 64th as soon as the foremost officers (Major Stirling, Captain Saunders, Captain Morphy, Captain Macrae, Lieutenant Parsons, Lieutenant O'Grady, and others) reached the crest of the ridge, and charged upon the guns, followed by the column. Major Stirling fell gloriously in front of the battery, fighting hand-to-hand with the enemy, of whom he killed several. Captain Morphy was shot through the heart, and seemed to bound from his saddle, falling heavily upon his head. Captain Macrae also met his fate like a soldier, with his face to the foe. Captain Saunders, commanding the leading division, dashed forward, followed by Parsons and O'Grady. Parsons instantly received a severe wound in his sword arm. O'Grady cheered the men on, waving his cap in the air, until he had the honour of laying his hand on one of the guns. The regiment took up the cheer, and hurried on to the support of Saunders and O'Grady, now fiercely engaged in personal conflict with the Gwalior. The fine old brigadier (whose horse, wounded in two places, carried him with difficulty over the rough ground) was pushing on with all possible speed to the front, shouting, ‘ Now, boys, you have them ! ’ when he received his mortal wound. As he

was unable to keep his seat in the saddle, some of his brave fellows carried him to the rear, while he continued to urge the troops to maintain the honour of the corps. At this juncture the enemy fell back on their reserve, which lay concealed in the parallels behind. Then occurred one of those blunders which neutralise the effect of the bravest actions. Two of our own guns opened fire on the 64th regiment from the left; and, at the same instant, the enemy's cavalry, together with the overwhelming force of infantry in front, poured down upon the right, and compelled our troops to retire. Strange to say, Captain Saunders, and, I believe, Lieutenant O'Grady, escaped unhurt. After the death of Brigadier Wilson and Major Stirling, Captain Saunders became the senior officer present; and his conspicuous gallantry to-day deserves not only honourable mention, but such reward as a soldier covets. The hospital to-day is a perfect aceldama."

An officer of the 64th regiment, describing the incidents of the day, writes thus:—"We had to turn out about two in the morning to occupy the Baptist chapel, which is situated a short distance to the north of the intrenchment, and we thought to have had a quiet day; but just after breakfast-time, crack went the rifles in front, and, in about ten minutes, the enemy's shot, shell, and grape, came pitching into and over the place in fine style. However, no one was hit, as we had excellent cover. We soon got tired of it, however; and, to our delight, we perceived a reinforcement of the 34th coming up the road. So we 'fell-in' in front of them, and marched down the road for about half a mile, when we suddenly came upon the enemy's battery, in a most formidable position. Of course, the instant they perceived us, a storm of grape, shot, shell, &c., opened upon us. The brigadier gave the word to charge, and 'at 'em' we went; but sadly reckoned without our host. You will imagine what a fire we were exposed to when I tell you that we went in fourteen officers and 160 men: of the former, seven were killed directly, and two wounded; of the latter, only eighteen killed and fifteen wounded—so the officers were evidently picked out. We fought at the guns for about ten minutes. Two were spiked—one by Major Stirling, who rushed up to it sword in hand. The native gunners rushed

at us in the most ferocious manner, cutting with their swords and throwing bricks. By the latter, Captain Bowlby and I were knocked down together, but jumped up again directly, when the devils came at us again with swords and shields. I fired my pistol at one fellow, and I suppose I hit him, for he did not come on. Brigadier Wilson was killed. I was just behind him when his horse was struck by two balls. He was afterwards shot through the body. However, we were regularly beaten off; and then commenced a most terrible retreat. The guns (six in number) and swarms of infantry poured in a withering fire. As I ran to the rear, officers and men were shot down within a yard of me; but I escaped by the greatest miracle. I ran by the brigadier's side until his horse was hit, which was about twenty yards from the muzzles, when I passed him. Directly an officer was down, the sepoys cut him to pieces with their tulwars. But fancy 160 men charging six guns and about 1,000 infantry! We were awfully blown in getting up to their position, as we had to cross a deep 'nullah,' and up the other side. I was one of the first 'fortunates' up—at least, all the officers were in front; but there could not have been more than fifty men with us. We had two guns in our possession for a few minutes; but our supports failed us, and then it was, 'Devil take the hindmost.' We have been under a hot fire now since the 26th. I am writing this from our outer trench, and the shot and shell are flying about from both sides. However, we are quite safe, and have not had a casualty since we entered the trenches. The sepoys occupy the adjacent ruins; and, as they run from one to the other, we pot them. They had done themselves up with bang yesterday, intending to rush at us with their swords; but the brutes failed after all. It was a dreadful sight to see the poor officers being cut up. They were all round me; but, by the greatest mercy, I was not touched. I lost my sword-belt, scabbard, pistol, and keys (which were attached to the scabbard.) Whether the whole apparatus was cut away by a shot or not, I don't know. Oh, I forgot to tell you that, in the first day's fight, I tumbled into a burning lime-kiln, but didn't get hurt a bit, although I lost one of my pistols. One of the poor fellows (Gibbons, 52nd), who was afterwards killed at the charge on the guns, rushed in after me; but I scrambled out

by myself. We caught a spy or sepoy this morning, and didn't we blow his brains out? I never could have believed that one could get so accustomed to firing; but I can assure you that one pays no more attention to 'whistling Dick' going by, than one would to a bit of paper. In the gun scrimmage my coat and sword were splashed all over with blood. These Gwalioris that we are fighting now, are some 20,000 strong, and the natives are joining them every day. They had forty guns or so at the beginning of the row; but now they have lost some to us. This trench business is harassing work. We have been four days and four nights without taking our things off. There is a ruined bungalow about 400 yards off, full of sepoys. The brutes sometimes fire into us in the middle of the night; and the general won't let us make a rush and drive them out. They shelled our hospital the other day, and, I believe, wounded some of the patients."

Great as the mortification inflicted upon General Windham, by the result of his operations on the 27th of November, had been, it was severely augmented by the defeat sustained by the troops under his command on the following day. The *prestige* of his name was obscured, and the vaunted invincibility of British soldiers became, for the moment, a subject for derision among the rebels, who exulted in their accidental triumph. Encouraged by success, and by the severe loss they had inflicted upon the English troops, the commanders of the insurgent forces panted for the morrow's sun that should light them to the new victory they anticipated, and which they intended to crown by the entire extermination of the whole British force in the intrenchment. Already were proclamations prepared, announcing to the inhabitants of Cawnpore, and the adjacent districts, the utter destruction of the Feringhee *raj*, and the restoration to independent sovereignty of the ancient dynasties of Hindoostan. The traitors, dazzled by the brilliancy of an unexpected triumph on two successive days, were blind to the approaching future; they knew not that the avenger was near, that succour was at hand, and that a terrible punishment was about to be inflicted upon them.

It has already been stated that the commander-in-chief, while on the road from Lucknow with the rescued garrison and

families, had received intelligence from Cawnpore, which induced him to press forward in advance of the convoy, and that he reached the intrenchment during the evening of the 28th November,* and immediately assumed command of the force, now suffering under the double mortification of defeat and the loss of their camp-equipage and baggage; while the city of Cawnpore, which he had left but a few weeks previous, in the undisputed possession of British troops, was now entirely occupied by a rebel army, which, emboldened by success, was preparing to attack the position he had so opportunely reached. However much annoyed by the circumstances that surrounded him, Sir Colin Campbell's first consideration was for the preservation of the unfortunates whom he had already once rescued from imminent peril, and who were now closely approaching a new scene of danger, the passage over the Ganges being rendered painfully hazardous by the continued fire of the enemy, whose heavy guns had been directed upon the bridge of boats from daybreak of the 29th. To put an end to this annoyance, some heavy guns, under the command of Captain Peel and Captain Travers, of the artillery, took up a position on the left bank of the river; and by their vigorous and well-directed efforts, at length succeeded in keeping down the fire of the enemy.

The convoy had been halted shortly after dusk on the evening of the 28th, about three miles from the Ganges, with instructions to await an order to advance. Preparatory to that movement a column had been dispatched, under the command of Brigadier-general Grant, to secure and keep open the road from Cawnpore, through Futtehpore to Allahabad; and the remainder of the troops, under the personal command of Sir Colin Campbell, were so disposed as to present an effectual check to any movement of the enemy. These arrangements being complete, on the 29th, as soon as the evening had become sufficiently dark to veil the movement, the artillery park, the wounded, and the rescued families, were ordered to advance and file over the bridge; but it was not until six o'clock in the evening of the 30th, that the last cart of the convoy had cleared the passage over the river; the transport having occupied thirty continuous hours between its commencement and its close.

Again we may have recourse to the

* See *ante*, p. 98.

Diary for some interesting details of the events of Sunday, the 29th of November:—

"At dawn great guns began to play upon us. Soon afterwards the cannonade became general, and, by 7 A.M., it was something tremendous—shot and shell flying over us in all directions.

"8.30 A.M.—Good news! Sir Colin Campbell, with a strong reinforcement, and 470 women and children from Lucknow, are on the other side of the Ganges, which flows under the northern parapet of our intrenchment. The troops with the commander-in-chief, said to number 3,000, are much needed here to-day. Looking over the wall for an instant (it is not very safe to show one's head), I see two bodies of horsemen in advance, and an extended line of troops, elephants, camels, bullock-waggons, and camp-followers, stretching far away to the horizon. The banging of our own guns just at our ears is most deafening. Grape and round shot have been falling on the tree close to our tent. Some shells, I believe, have fallen on the hospital, which is, unfortunately, much exposed. Every square foot of the floor and verandah of the general hospital is covered with wounded officers and men.

"11.40 A.M.—Horse artillery, 9th lancers, 32nd, 53rd, and 93rd regiments have crossed the bridge of boats below our fort. Heartily glad to see the kilts, the plumes, and the tartan. May God defend, direct, and bless my brave countrymen! Such a Sunday! Two shells have just whizzed over our heads. 'Fall-in, 82nd!' is the cry. We hope the advance with fixed bayonets is now to be made, as the rebels are taking shelter under some ruined houses. The hotel is in flames.

"12 Noon.—Grape, round shot, and rifle bullets, rushing over us in slight showers. A round shot has crashed through the big tree beside us.

"1 P.M.—This is exciting. Another large round shot over our heads. They have not quite got our range. Fortunately, the parapet protects us in some degree. Bang! another over us! Again—again—again (a shell this time, and burst.) Our guns on the parapet are answering them, so that the earth trembles. A person has come into tent saying, 'We have killed loads of the enemy.' The more the better, we all think. The artillery is beautifully directed by Captain Dangerfield and others on the parapets.

"2.15 P.M.—The cannonade has paused for half-an-hour. I hear Lucknow soldiers and their old comrades exchanging greetings and congratulations in their rough but hearty style; and counting over the dead and the wounded of their acquaintance.

"2.35 P.M.—Cannonade commenced again. The rifles have not ceased all day. Colonel Fyers and his men have done good service. They went into action on Friday as soon as they reached Cawnpore, although they had marched forty-eight miles almost without halting, and some were lame, many footsore, and all weary. Their arrival seemed to be the means of saving the fort, when our other troops were in full retreat. Colonel Woodford, an excellent officer, with whom I came from Benares to Allahabad, was killed in a hand-to-hand fight in the field yesterday. The church, I am just informed, was burnt last night by the enemy; and the assembly-rooms and school have been burnt to-day. There is a dense column of smoke ascending from the town about half a mile off.

"4 P.M.—One of the ladies from Lucknow has come in, and M—— and I have given up the tent to her. She has a most touching story to tell, and she tells it most effectively. She gave us in half-an-hour what might be the substance of an interesting volume. She and her husband have lost their all.

"5.30 P.M.—The scene from the verandah of the general hospital is at this moment one never to be forgotten. A procession of human beings, cattle, and vehicles (six miles long), is coming up to the bridge of boats below the fort. It is just about sunset. The variety of colour in the sky and on the plain, the bright costumes and black faces of the native servants, the crowd of camels and horses, and the piles of furniture, and so forth, in the foreground at my feet (all seen between two pillars of this verandah, which is raised some eight or ten feet from the ground), produce a very remarkable effect. But the groans of the poor fellows on charpoys and on the floor, behind and around me, dissolve the fascination of the scene.

"Slept again in my waggon."

The operations of Brigadier Carthew, in the action of the 28th of November, are detailed in the following report from him to the deputy-adjutant-general:—

"Cawnpore, December 1, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour to submit, for the infor-

mation of Major-general Windham, commanding the Cawnpore division, the following report of my defence of the bridge and Bithoor-road, on the 28th ultimo.

"At daylight on the 28th of November, I proceeded, according to instructions, with her majesty's 34th regiment, two companies of her majesty's 82nd regiment, and four guns of Madras native artillery, to take up a position at the Racket-court; two companies of her majesty's 64th regiment having been placed in the Baptist chapel, to keep up communication with me. When within a few hundred yards of the Racket-court, I received instructions through the late Captain Macrae, that General Windham preferred the position of the previous evening being taken upon the bridge, and the Bithoor-road defended. I consequently retired, leaving a company of her majesty's 34th regiment to occupy the front line of broken-down native infantry huts, and another company in their support, in a brick building, about a hundred yards to their rear. I then detached a company of her majesty's 34th to the opposite side of the road across the plain, in a line with the above support, to occupy a vacant house, to man the garden walls, and the upstairs verandah. These companies formed a strong position, and quite commanded the whole road towards the bridge. I halted at the bridge, with the remainder of the 34th and four guns, and barricaded the road, and placed two guns on the bridge. I then sent two companies of the 34th, under Lieutenant-colonel Simpson, to occupy the position he held the previous evening, to prevent the egress of the enemy from the town towards the intrenchments; also to defend the road from Allahabad. This picket I subsequently strengthened with two of my guns, which could not be worked on the bridge.

"A brisk fire was kept up by the enemy from their position against the native lines, on the advanced skirmishers and picket, and upon the bridge, by their guns (16-pounders), throughout the whole day. About mid-day, Captain Macrae conveyed instructions to me to proceed to the front, to attack the enemy's infantry and guns; that he was to convey the same instructions to her majesty's 64th regiment, and both parties to advance at the same time.

"Captain Macrae took with him, to strengthen the 64th, forty men of a company of her majesty's 82nd, which I had placed as a picket at the old commissariat compound, for the protection of the road leading from that direction to the intrenchment. I advanced with my two guns and a company of the 34th from the bridge, taking, as I advanced, the company stationed to my right in the upstairs house, and the company in the broken huts, with its support, on my left.

"On advancing and clearing the front line of trees, I was desirous, and endeavoured, to push the whole of my party across the plain in front, to charge the enemy's guns; but as their infantry still occupied the broken ground of other huts, and my force without support, it could not be done. The enemy's guns were driven far to the rear by the fire of my two guns, after which my skirmishers, support, and right picket, took up their original positions, and I returned with the guns to the bridge. Shortly after this, the enemy's infantry were seen to be skirting along the edge of the town, with the evident intention of turning our flank, and of pouring a fire upon us from the houses on our left. Both picket and skirmishers applied for reinforcements, which I could

not afford; but desired them to hold their positions as long as possible, and then fall back to the head of the bridge, which they did about five o'clock.

"The enemy were now increasing in large numbers on our left, occupying houses, garden-walls, and the church. A company was sent through the gardens to dislodge the enemy, and drive them from the church; but the enemy were strong enough in position to maintain, or rather to return to, their position. I then concentrated all my force on both flanks of the bridge, and with the guns kept up a heavy fire. The enemy now brought up a gun into the churchyard, which enfiladed the bridge at a distance not exceeding 150 yards, my own guns not being able to bear on their position. The enemy were still increasing, and working round to my rear by my left flank; I retired the guns about a hundred yards, so as to command the bridge and the road leading from the town.

"Officers and men were at this time falling fast around me. I applied for a reinforcement, but by the time they arrived night had set in, and I now considered it prudent to retire with the remainder of my force into the intrenchment, which was done with perfect regularity, the reinforcement of rifles protecting the rear.

"Although for some time earnestly advised to retire, I refrained from doing so, until I felt convinced that, from the increasing numbers of the enemy, the fatigue of the men after three days' hard fighting, and my own troops firing in the dark into each other, the position was no longer tenable, and that consequently it became my painful duty to retire.

"I beg to forward a return of the killed and wounded during the day.

"M. CARTHEW, Brigadier,
"Commanding Madras Troops."

The return showed three officers, and twelve non-commissioned officers and privates, killed; and ten officers, and sixty-five men, wounded. One private also was returned as missing.

The dissatisfaction of the commander-in-chief at Brigadier Carthew's conduct, was expressed in the following memorandum:—

"Head-quarters, Camp, Cawnpore,
"Dec. 9th, 1857.

"The commander-in-chief has had under consideration Brigadier Carthew's despatch, dated "Cawnpore, 3rd of December, 1857," addressed to the deputy assistant-adjutant-general, Cawnpore division. Although his excellency fully admits the arduous nature of the service on which Brigadier Carthew had been engaged during the 28th of November, he cannot record his approval of that officer's retreat on the evening of that day.

"Under the instructions of Major-general Windham, his commanding officer, Brigadier Carthew had been placed in position. No discretion of retiring was allowed to him. When he was pressed hard, he sent for reinforcements; which, as the commander-in-chief happened to be present when the request arrived, his excellency is aware, were immediately conducted to his relief by Major-general Windham in person. It would appear from Brigadier Carthew's letter of explanation, that he did not wait to see the effect of the reinforcements which had been brought to him; but, to the great astonishment of Major-

general Windham and his excellency, retired almost immediately after.

"With respect to these occurrences, his excellency feels it necessary to make two remarks. In the first place, no subordinate officer, when possessing easy means of communication with his immediate superior, is permitted, according to the principles and usages of war, to give up a post which has been entrusted to his charge, without a previous request for orders, after a representation might have been made that the post had become no longer tenable.

"Secondly. It might have occurred to Brigadier Carthew, that when Major-general Windham proceeded to reinforce the post, according to his just request, instead of ordering the garrison to retire, it was the opinion of the major-general that to hold it was an absolute necessity. His excellency refrains from remarking on the very serious consequences which ensued on the abandonment of the post in question.

"The night, which had arrived, was more favourable to the brigadier for the purpose of strengthening his position, than it was to an enemy advancing on him in the dark; at all events, there were many hours during which a decision could have been taken by the highest authority in the intrenchment, whether the post should be abandoned or not, without much other inconvenience than the mere fatigue of the garrison.

"The commander-in-chief must make one more remark. Brigadier Carthew, in the last paragraph of his letter, talks about his men firing into one another in the dark. His excellency does not see how this could occur if the men were properly posted, and the officers in command of them duly instructed as to their respective positions."

The condition of the discomfited troops of Windham may be conjectured from the following telegraphic message from the commander-in-chief to the governor-general in council; and also from the unusual promptitude with which it was attended to:—

"Cawnpore, December 2nd, 1857.

"In consequence of the force under Major-general Windham having been so much pressed at Cawnpore, prior to my arrival, I regret to say that a very large portion of his camp-equipage, abandoned on the occasion of his retreat from outside the city, and the store-rooms, containing all the clothing of some of the eight or ten of his regiments here and at Lucknow, have been burnt by the enemy. I must entreat your lordship to give the most urgent orders for the transmission of clothing, great-coats, &c., from below, to make up the deficiency which has occurred in consequence of this lamentable circumstance."

The urgency of this request admitted of no interposition of *red-tapism*, and orders were given direct from the governor-general for the immediate supply of necessaries for the troops, in lieu of those destroyed by the rebels.

The following despatches give the official details of the occurrences between the 26th and 30th November, already referred to:—

"*The Commander-in-Chief to the Governor-general.*

"Head-quarters, Camp, Cawnpore,

"December 2nd, 1857.

"My Lord,—In accordance with the instructions of your lordship, arrangements were finally made with Sir James Outram, that his division, made up to 4,000 strong of all arms, should remain in position before Lucknow.

"This position includes the post of Alumbagh, his standing camp, of which the front is 1,500 yards in the rear of that post, and the bridge of Bunnee, which is held by 400 Madras sepoy, and two guns.

"On the 27th, I marched with Brigadier-general Grant's division, all the ladies and families who had been rescued from Lucknow, and the wounded of both forces; making in all about 2,000 people, whom it was necessary to carry, and encamped the evening of that day a little beyond Bunnee bridge. The long train did not reach completely and file into camp until after midnight.

"When we arrived at Bunnee, we were surprised to hear very heavy firing in the direction of Cawnpore. No news had reached me from that place for several days; but it appeared necessary, whatever the inconvenience, to press forward as quickly as possible. The march accordingly recommenced at 9 A.M. the next morning; and shortly afterwards I received two or three notes in succession—first, announcing that Cawnpore had been attacked; secondly, that General Windham was hard pressed; and thirdly, that he had been obliged to fall back from outside the city into his intrenchment. The force was accordingly pressed forward, convoy and all, and was encamped within three miles of the Ganges, about three hours after dark, the rear-guard coming in with the end of the train some twenty-four hours afterwards. I preceded the column of march by two or three hours, and reached the intrenchment at dusk, where I learnt the true state of affairs.

"The retreat of the previous day had been effected with the loss of a certain amount of camp-equipage; and shortly after my arrival, it was reported to me that Brigadier Carthew had retreated from a very important outpost. All this appeared disastrous enough; and the next day the city was found in possession of the enemy at all points. It had now become necessary to proceed with the utmost caution to secure the bridge.

"All the heavy guns attached to General Grant's division, under Captain Peel, R.N., and Captain Travers, R.A., were placed in position on the left bank of the Ganges, and directed to open fire, and keep down the fire of the enemy on the bridge. This was done very effectually; while Brigadier Hope's brigade, with some field artillery and cavalry, was ordered to cross the bridge, and take position near the old dragoon lines. A cross-fire was at the same time kept up from the intrenchment, to cover the march of the troops.

"When darkness began to draw on, the artillery parks, the wounded, and the families, were ordered to file over the bridge; and it was not till six o'clock P.M., the day of the 30th, that the last cart had cleared the bridge. The passage of the force, with its incumbrances, over the Ganges, had occupied thirty hours.

"The camp now stretches from the dragoon lines, in a half circle, round the position occupied by the late General Sir Hugh Wheeler, the foot artillery lines being occupied by the wounded and the families. A desultory fire has been kept up by the

enemy on the intrenchment and the front of the camp since this position was taken up, and I am obliged to submit to the hostile occupation of Cawnpore, until the actual dispatch of all my incumbrances towards Allahabad has been effected.

"However disagreeable this may be, and although it may tend to give confidence to the enemy, it is precisely one of those cases in which no risk must be run. I trust, when the time has arrived for me to act with due regard to these considerations, to see the speedy evacuation of his present position by the enemy. In the meantime, the position taken up by Brigadier-general Grant's division, under my immediate orders, has restored the communications with Futtehpoore and Allahabad, as had been anticipated. The detachments moving along the road from these two places have been ordered to continue their march accordingly. Major-general Windham's despatch, relating to the operations conducted under his command, is enclosed.

"In forwarding that document, I have only to remark, that the complaint made by him in the second paragraph, of not receiving instructions from me, is explained by the fact of the letters he sent, announcing the approach of the Gwalior force, not having come to hand. The first notice I had of his embarrassment, was the distant sound of the cannonade, as above described. All the previous reports had declared that there was but little chance of the Gwalior contingent approaching Cawnpore.—I have, &c.,

"C. CAMPBELL, General, Commander-in-Chief."

"Major-general C. A. Windham to the Commander-in-Chief.

"Cawnpore, November 30th, 1857.

"Sir,—In giving an account of the proceedings of the force under my command before Cawnpore, during the operations of the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th instant, I trust your excellency will excuse the hasty manner in which it is necessarily drawn up, owing to the constant demands upon me at the present moment.

"Having received, through Captain H. Bruce, of the 5th Punjab cavalry, information of the movements of the Gwalior contingent, but having received none whatever from your excellency for several days from Lucknow, in answer to my letters to the chief of the staff, I was obliged to act for myself. I therefore resolved to encamp my force on the canal, ready to strike at any portion of the advancing enemy that came within my reach, keeping at the same time my communications safe with Cawnpore. Finding that the contingent were determined to advance, I resolved to meet their first division on the Pandoo Nuddee. My force consisted of about 1,200 bayonets and eight guns, and a hundred mounted sowars. Having sent my camp-equipage and baggage to the rear, I advanced to the attack in the following order:—

"Four companies of the rifle brigade, under Colonel R. Walpole, followed by four companies of the 88th Connaught rangers, under Lieutenant-colonel E. H. Maxwell, and four light 6-pounder Madras guns, under Lieutenant Chamier; the whole under the command of Brigadier Carthew, of the Madras native infantry. Following this force was the 34th regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel R. Kelly, with four 9-pounder guns; the 82nd regiment in reserve, with spare ammunition, &c. I had given directions, in the event of the enemy being found directly in our front, and if the ground permitted, that Briga-

dier Carthew should occupy the ground to the left of the road, and that Lieutenant-colonel Kelly, with the 34th, divided into wings, and supported by his artillery, should take the right. It so happened, however, that this order, on our coming into action, became exactly inverted by my directions, in consequence of a sudden turn of the road. No confusion, however, was caused. The advance was made with a complete line of skirmishers along the whole front, with supports on either side, and a reserve in the centre. The enemy, strongly posted on the other side of the dry bed of the Pandoo Nuddee, opened a heavy fire of artillery from siege and field guns; but such was the eagerness and courage of the troops, and so well were they led by their officers, that we carried the position with a rush, the men cheering as they went; and the village, more than half a mile in its rear, was rapidly cleared. The mutineers hastily took to flight, leaving in our possession two 8-inch iron howitzers and one 6-pounder gun. In this fight my loss was not severe; but I regret very much that a very promising young officer, Captain H. H. Day, 88th regiment, was killed.

"Observing, from a height on the other side of the village, that the enemy's main body was at hand, and that the one just defeated was their leading division, I at once decided on retiring to protect Cawnpore, my intrenchments, and the bridge over the Ganges. We accordingly fell back, followed, however, by the enemy, up to the bridge over the canal.

"On the morning of the 27th, the enemy commenced their attack, with an overwhelming force of heavy artillery. My position was in front of the city. I was threatened on all sides, and very seriously attacked on my front and right flank. The heavy fighting in front, at the point of junction of the Calpee and Delhi roads, fell more especially upon the rifle brigade, ably commanded by Colonel Walpole, who was supported by the 88th regiment and four guns (two 9-pounders, and two 24-pounder howitzers), under Captain D. S. Greene, royal artillery, and two 24-pounder guns, manned by seamen of the *Shannon*, under Lieutenant Hay, R.N., who was twice wounded. Lieutenant-colonel John Adye, royal artillery, also afforded me marked assistance with these guns. In spite of the heavy bombardment of the enemy, my troops resisted the attack for five hours, and still held the ground, until, on my proceeding personally to make sure of the safety of the fort, I found, from the number of men hayoneted by the 88th regiment, that the mutineers had fully penetrated the town; and having been told that they were then attacking the fort, I directed Major-general Dupuis, R.A. (who, as my second in command, I had left with the main body), to fall back with the whole force into the fort, with all our stores and guns, shortly before dark. Owing to the flight of the camp followers at the commencement of the action, notwithstanding the long time we held the ground, I regret to state, that in making this retrograde movement, I was unable to carry off all my camp-equipage, and some of the baggage. Had not an error occurred in the conveyance of an order issued by me, I am of opinion that I could have held my ground at all events until dark. I must not omit, in this stage of the proceedings, to report that the flank attack was well met, and resisted for a considerable time, by the 34th regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Kelly, and the Madras battery, under Lieutenant Chamier, together with that part

of the 82nd regiment, which was detached in this direction under Lieutenant-colonel D. Watson. In retiring within the intrenchments, I followed the general instructions issued to me by your excellency, conveyed through the chief of the staff—namely, to preserve the safety of the bridge over the Ganges, and my communications with your force, so severely engaged in the important operation of the relief of Lucknow, as far as possible. I strictly adhered to the defensive.

"After falling back to the fort, I assembled the superior officers on the evening of the 27th, and proposed a night attack, should I be able to receive reliable information as to where the enemy had assembled his artillery. As, however, I could obtain none (or, at all events, none that was satisfactory), I decided—1. That on the following day Colonel Walpole (rifle brigade) should have the defence of the advanced portion of the town on the left side of the canal, standing with your back to the Ganges. The details of the force upon this point were as follows:—Five companies rifle brigade, under Lieutenant-colonel C. Woodford; two companies of the 82nd regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Watson; four guns (two 9-pounders, and two 24-pounder howitzers), under Captain Greene, R.A. (Two of these guns were manned by Madras gunners, and two by Sikhs.) 2. That Brigadier N. Wilson, with the 64th regiment, was to hold the fort and establish a strong picket at the Baptist chapel on the extreme right. 3. That Brigadier Carthew, with the 34th regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Kelly, and four Madras guns, should hold the Bithoor-road in advance of the Baptist chapel, receiving support from the picket there, if wanted. 4. That, with the 88th regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, I should defend the portion of the town nearest the Ganges, on the left of the canal, and support Colonel Walpole if required.

"The fighting on the 28th was very severe. On the left advance, Colonel Walpole, with the rifles, supported by Captain Greene's battery, and part of the 82nd regiment, achieved a complete victory over the enemy, and captured two 18-pounder guns. The glory of this well-contested fight belongs entirely to the above-named companies, and artillery.

"It was owing to the gallantry of the men and officers, under the able leading of Colonel Walpole, and of my lamented relation, Lieutenant-colonel Woodford, of the rifle brigade (who, I deeply regret to say, was killed), and of Lieutenant-colonel Watson, 82nd, and of Captain Greene, royal artillery, that this hard-contested fight was won and brought to so profitable an end. I had nothing to do with it, beyond sending them supports, and, at the end, of bringing some up myself. I repeat that the credit is entirely due to the above-mentioned officers and men.

"Brigadier Wilson thought proper, prompted by zeal for the service, to lead his regiment against four guns placed in front of Brigadier Carthew. In this daring exploit, I regret to say, he lost his life, together with several valuable and able officers. Major T. Stirling, 64th regiment, was killed in spiking one of the guns, as was also that fine gallant young man, Captain R. C. Macrae, 64th regiment, who acted as deputation-assistant quartermaster-general to the force here. Captain W. Morphy, 64th regiment (the brigade-major), also fell at the same time. Our numbers were not sufficient to enable us to carry off the guns. Captain A. P. Bowlby, now

the senior officer of the 64th regiment, distinguished himself, as did also Captain H. F. Saunders, of the 70th regiment, who was attached to the 64th, and is senior to Captain Bowlby, whose conduct he describes as most devoted and gallant; as was also that of the men of the regiment. Brigadier Carthew, of the Madras native infantry, had a most severe and strong contest with the enemy, from morning till night; but I regret to add, that he felt himself obliged to retire at dark.

"During the night of the 28th instant, the enemy occupied the town, and on the morning of the 29th commenced bombarding my intrenchments with a few guns, and struck the bridge of boats several times. The guns mounted in the fort were superior in number to those of the enemy, and were well manned, throughout the day, by the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the royal artillery, seamen of the *Shannon*, Madras and Bengal gunners, and Sikhs. The chief outwork was occupied by the rifle brigade, and in the course of the afternoon, by your excellency's instructions, they were advanced, and gallantly drove the mutineers out of that portion of the city nearest to our works, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Fyers, who was supported by Colonel Walpole.

"Throughout the short period I have had the temporary command of this division, I have received, both in the field and elsewhere, the most important assistance from Captain H. Bruce, 5th Punjab cavalry. Without him I should have been at a great loss for reliable information; and although I am aware that your excellency is not ignorant of his abilities, courage, and assiduity, I think it my duty to make this mention of his service to the country. Pressed as I am by the operations now going forward, I am not able to specify the services of every individual who has assisted me, where all have behaved so well. I have no staff of my own, except Captain Roger Swire, of the 17th foot, my aide-de-camp, who has behaved with his usual zeal and courage. I therefore hope I may be allowed to thank, through your excellency, the undermentioned officers, for the great services they have voluntarily rendered me during this trying time:—Major-general J. E. Dupuis, C.B., commanding royal artillery in India; Lieutenant-colonel John Adye, C.B., assistant-adjutant-general, royal artillery; Lieutenant-colonel H. D. Harness, commanding royal engineers; and Major Norman McLeod, Bengal engineers, specially; Lieutenant-colonel John Simpson, 34th regiment; senior-surgeon R. C. Elliot, C.B., royal artillery; Captain John Gordon, 82nd regiment; Captain Sarsfield Greene, royal artillery; Captain Smyth, Bengal artillery. There are several other officers in addition, who I fortunately found detained here, *en route* to join your excellency's force, and I beg to submit their names also—viz.: Captain R. G. Brackenbury, 61st regiment; Lieutenant Arthur Henley, 52nd light infantry; Lieutenant Valentine Ryan, 64th regiment; Captain Ellis Cunliffe, 1st Bengal fusiliers; Lieutenant E. H. Budgen, 82nd regiment (to whom I gave the command of the hundred mounted sowars); Captain C. E. Mansfield, 33rd regiment; Lieutenant P. Scratchley, royal engineers; Lieutenant W. C. Milne, 74th Bengal native infantry.

"I beg to inform your excellency that I have called for nominal returns of the killed and wounded, and I have also directed all officers commanding corps, regiments, and batteries, &c., to forward to

me the names of any officers, non-commissioned officers, or soldiers, who may have especially distinguished themselves by gallantry in the field, which shall be forwarded to your excellency without delay.

"In conclusion, I hope I may be permitted to express my sincere thanks to all the regimental officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, for the zeal, gallantry, and courage with which they have carried out my orders during the four days of harassing actions which have successively taken place in the defence of this important strategic centre of present operations.—I have, &c.,

"C. A. WINDHAM, Major-general."

The following letter from a young officer of nineteen is so characteristic and natural, that it certainly deserves a place among the reminiscences of the three days to which it refers. The writer dates from the "Intrenched Camp, Cawnpore, December 2nd, 1857."

"My darling Mother,—Thank God I am safe and well, and through God's mercy I hope to remain so. We have had terrible hard work here fighting the sepoy; we have been at it five days together. The first day I was on my legs from four o'clock in the morning until six in the evening. We paraded at four o'clock, and after standing on parade for an hour or two we marched off 1,500 strong. Nobody knew where we were going to; but I had a dim idea that we should see service that day, and sure enough we did. We marched along cheerily enough for two or three miles, the bands playing now and then in front. Presently there was a halt, the band came to the rear, and the fighting 88th (the Connaught rangers) came to the front. Whereat there were sundry murmurings among the officers of 'ours,' because our right, by seniority, of fighting first was thus taken from us. The word is given to 'Advance!' Bang! goes a heavy gun, and whiz comes the immense mass of iron over our heads; and I am afraid I must plead guilty to feeling an extraordinary sort of sinking in my stomach. On we go, some command is given, and the left wing of our regiment goes away somewhere (I am in the right wing.) 'Bang!' again. This time they have the right range, and the grapeshot tears through the column. The word is given—'Extend into skirmishing order to the left.' Away we go, rushing on all the time; we jump over a bank of earth, and a man falls at my side. I think, 'Oh! he only tripped up;' I turn, and see the red blood gushing out on to the earth. And now the bullets come round us fast and thick. My spirit-flask has the top grazed by a bullet. I am lost in astonishment

that I am not hit! I see thousands of red-coated sepoy firing away at us, and I get into a rage, and shout, 'Come along my boys, remember Cawnpore!' but in a feeble voice, trying to fancy myself brave, but fail totally in the attempt. We come to a stop at length, and thank goodness for it, for I am terribly blown. Here they rally the men, and get them together preparatory to taking three guns in front. A cheer, a long heave of my breath, a clenching of my hands and teeth, and away I go once more into the bullets. 'The guns are ours—hurrah!'

"Three days more something like this; I will not bother you with the fourth day. The last part we had been skirmishing all day, and towards six o'clock the blackguards made a rush, some four or five thousand of them, to the bridge which I was defending. Then came a fight between 1,500 tired Englishmen and 5,000 or more of fresh sepoy; for these were the reserve. There are some 20,000 of them here. Please goodness, I hope never to see such a hail-storm of bullets again. I saw men fall on every side of me; splinters hit me, pieces of earth from bullets, &c.; and there we were obliged to stay. Our orders were 'to keep the bridge as long as possible:' the 'keeping' consisted in standing still while a hurricane of balls passed through us. I must own here that I lost my presence of mind; I said the Lord's Prayer, and thought I should never see you, darling, and all my dear friends again; but God (thanks to him for it) has hitherto preserved me. We, after some time, retreated into the fort, and defended it until relieved by Sir Colin Campbell.

"I sleep on the ground every night. I have hard biscuit and rum to live on. I never am able to sleep more than three hours at a stretch, but I have a capital appetite, good health, and I say my prayers every night that I may be allowed to see you again, and I am very happy and comfortable, so do not worry about me, darling."

The unfortunate result of an affair which involved so severe a loss to the hitherto victorious troops of England, was much magnified by rumour before the real state of the case became known through the report of Major-general Windham; and when at length, upon that authority, the facts came before the public, the general disappointment found expression in language that could not be mistaken. The

Crimean brilliancy associated with the name of Windham, had rendered the idea of anything approaching defeat to troops led by the hero of the Redan, a possibility that no one was disposed, or prepared, to admit the existence of; and when, therefore, the bare and unpalatable fact was avowed and vouched for by his own signature, public disappointment became more universally felt, and was yet more energetically expressed. Not only were the whole operations of the gallant soldier canvassed with a jealous and embittered spirit, but even the tone of his military despatch formed a topic for animadversion. "There is," writes the special correspondent of the *Times*, in his communication from Calcutta, of the 26th of December, "another point in the general's despatches, to which it is worth while to direct attention. Referring to Brigadier Wilson's attack with the 64th foot on the enemy's line, on the second day, he says, 'Brigadier Wilson *thought proper*, prompted by zeal for the service, to lead his regiment against four guns,' &c. Now this expression, 'thought proper,' occurring in a despatch, is intended to indicate that the movement was, in the opinion of the general commanding, rash and ill-timed. Yet it is a fact that, by that movement, Brigadier Wilson broke the enemy's centre; he took possession of their main battery, spiked three guns out of four, and was finally only compelled to retire for want of support. All the private accounts I have seen, concur in asserting that, had he been supported, the enemy would have given way. Let us imagine the position. Here was the enemy's line advancing on our intrenchments, the guns from their centre battery committing fearful havoc amongst Brigadier Carthew's brigade. Brigadier Wilson, advancing from our right, drives back the enemy's left; then changing front, dashes on their centre, and gains the destructive battery; but having only three hundred men is overwhelmed. Had General Windham, instead of making isolated attacks on all parts of the enemy's line, concentrated his efforts on one; and had he, in pursuance of this plan, supported Brigadier Wilson's attack, the enemy, cut in two, would have been driven from the field. To attack the enemy's line on isolated points, in this case, was to court defeat; by concentrating and assailing them on one, success with British troops was assured. General Wilson was one of Havelock's brigade leaders; and under that gallant and experienced officer,

the movements which he 'thought proper' to execute were always approved by his chief. He died in the performance of a most daring and gallant achievement; and there must not be permitted to rest on his memory any of the stains of this day's performance. Had he lived he could have answered for himself; but as fate has denied that, it is only just that his memory should thus be vindicated. The avoidance of the mention of General Windham's name amongst those whom the government of India has thanked; the inferior post subsequently assigned to him by Sir Colin Campbell, and his removal to Umballah, show the light in which his services are considered in this country. It would seem ungracious to dwell so particularly upon this subject, but for the boastful manner which was assumed by the principal actor prior to the development of this scene of the drama. Indian generals were styled 'effeminate;' they were to be 'taught how to make war.' Their effeminacy has been proved by their patient endurance before Delhi; by their achievements, without tents, under a terrible sun, in the months of June, July, August, and September; by their daring efforts to relieve their countrymen at Lucknow—never resting, unable to change their clothes, always under fire; by that unrivalled dash through the streets of Lucknow, every street of which was fortified, and every house a castle. This may be 'effeminacy;' but it is, on the whole, preferred to the 'generalship' which was to have astonished India."

In further reference to the report of Major-general Windham, it may be observed, that it was forwarded by the commander-in-chief to the governor-general in council, almost without a comment, and certainly without any expression of satisfaction; a circumstance of rare occurrence in military correspondence, when the respective rank of the parties are considered. Whether the omission was attributable to a decided disapproval of the whole proceedings of the major-general, or was the result of accident, does not appear; but it is certain that the exceptional tone of the commander-in-chief's despatch, attracted much observation in military circles; and the impression it was calculated to convey, was scarcely modified by the following "after-thought" of the commander-in-chief, or by the formal recognition of the appeal for "protection and good offices," on the part of the governor-general.

"To the Right Hon. the Governor-general.

"Head-quarters, near Cawnpore, Dec. 20th.

"My Lord,—I have the honour to bring to your lordship's notice an omission which I have to regret in my despatch of the 2nd of December, and I beg to be allowed now to repair it.

"I desire to make my acknowledgment of the great difficulties in which Major-general Windham, C.B., was placed during the operations he describes in his despatch, and to recommend him and the officers whom he notices as having rendered him assistance, to your lordship's protection and good offices. I may mention, in conclusion, that Major-general Windham is ignorant of the contents of my despatch of the 2nd December, and that I am prompted to take this step solely as a matter of justice to the major-general and the other officers concerned.—I have the honour, &c.,

"C. CAMPBELL, General, Commander-in-Chief."

The publication of the above was accompanied by the following general order:—

"The right honourable the governor-general in council has received the accompanying despatch from his excellency the commander-in-chief, and hastens to give publicity to it. It supplies an omission in a previous despatch from his excellency, which was printed in the *Gazette Extraordinary* of the 24th instant. Major-general Windham's reputation as a leader of conspicuous bravery and coolness, and the reputation of the gallant force which he commanded, will have lost nothing from an accidental omission such as General Sir Colin Campbell has occasion to regret. But the governor-general in council will not fail to bring to the notice of the government in England, the opinions formed by his excellency of the difficulties against which Major-general Windham, with the officers and men under his orders, had to contend."

As we have already observed, the unpleasant impression created by the first announcement of General Windham's unsuccessful operations at Cawnpore, had rapidly extended to every part of India, as well as to the remotest parts of Great Britain; and his friends in the latter country were prompt to avail themselves of every possible means by which the shade that rested upon his military fame might be removed. To some, the preceding supplementary despatch of the commander-in-chief, and the acceptance by the governor-general in council of the explanation thereby afforded, were held sufficient to exonerate General Windham from all blame on the score of incapacity or imprudence; but such was not the popular interpretation of the correspondence. Meanwhile, rumours alike disparaging to the military renown of the gallant general, and ill-besecming the rank he had won for himself in the British service, became current in every quarter; and, at length, the Duke of Cambridge, in his place in the House of Lords, felt it necessary, as com-

mander-in-chief of the forces, to express his perfect satisfaction with the conduct of General Windham, upon the responsibility of the foregoing documents. Thus, on the 15th of February, his royal highness addressed the House of Lords in the following terms:—

"So much having been said in reference to the conduct of the gallant general who recently commanded at Cawnpore (Major-general Windham), I am sure that your lordships will be glad to learn what were the real merits of the case. I have been anxiously waiting for some official despatch from India that would clear up the subject, and I am happy to say that a statement has come to my hand this day, which is most satisfactory with regard to that officer, whose military conduct has occasioned such conflicting opinions. Your lordships will, I am sure, rejoice with me, that my gallant friend, Sir Colin Campbell, from whom this despatch came, entirely exonerates Major-general Windham from all blame in reference to the action which has given rise to these comments. There is blame attached to other parties, which it is not necessary for me now to refer to; but, as regards General Windham, I have received from my gallant friend, Sir Colin Campbell, a handsome despatch exonerating him from all blame; and I have reason to believe that he will be recommended by Sir Colin for some more important command."

The important command to which General Windham was promoted by Sir Colin Campbell, was that of the Umballah district—a place totally removed from the perils of warfare, and, in fact, bearing much the same relation to Cawnpore, that Aldershot does to London.

But if the royal duke could, at a glance, discover so much to be gratified with, in the shape of a complete exculpation of the gallant officer, such was far from the effect produced upon other parties: and as a specimen of the general tone adopted in reference to the Cawnpore disaster, and the supplementary despatch, the subjoined leading article from the *Daily News* of February 16th, 1858 (the day after the statement of the Duke of Cambridge had been made), may fairly be adduced:—

"The supplementary despatch of Sir Colin Campbell is regarded as a complete Sphinx's riddle, both in military and in non-military circles. On the 20th of

December, Sir Colin addresses a few lines to the governor-general, ostensibly for the purpose of supplying an omission in his despatch giving an account of the second relief of Cawnpore. What Sir Colin had omitted to say in that first document appears to have been simply that General Windham was placed under 'great difficulties' in the operations which preceded the commander-in-chief's return from Lucknow; and that Sir Colin 'recommends' General Windham and his staff to the governor-general's '*protection* and good offices.' The remarkable feature of Sir Colin Campbell's first despatch, was the utter absence of any expression of opinion regarding the merits or demerits of General Windham's operations. On this subject the supplementary despatch is equally silent. Sir Colin speaks of the difficulties General Windham had to encounter; but not one word does he say as to the manner in which the general encountered them. There is something remarkable in Sir Colin's expression, that he recommends General Windham to Lord Canning's '*protection*.' It is not '*protection*' that meritorious officers are generally understood to require.

"But the guarded language of Sir Colin, who knows from personal observation what General Windham has done, is amply compensated for by the rapturous encomiums of Lord Canning and the Duke of Cambridge, who know nothing of the matter except from Sir Colin's reports. Lord Canning, it is true, is sufficiently cautious to speak only of General Windham's '*conspicuous bravery and coolness*,' and of the difficulties against which he had to contend. Still even he attributes more to Sir Colin's guarded language than unbiassed readers can find in it. But the language of the Duke of Cambridge is so strong, that the idea naturally suggests itself that his royal highness must have been referring to some other despatch from Sir Colin Campbell, which has not yet seen the light. Assuredly there is nothing in the document which has been promulgated at Calcutta to warrant the royal duke's saying that Sir Colin has acquitted General Windham of all blame, and that he appears to be waiting for an opportunity to confer high command on that officer. If a despatch from Sir Colin Campbell has come to the hands of his royal highness, the tenor of which justifies expressions like these, simple jus-

tice to General Windham demands that it should be published without loss of time; for, until it is published, all who know anything of military matters will continue to judge of General Windham's operations at Cawnpore from the statements in his own report to his commander, and will look upon his relegation to Umballah as anything but a precursor to high command.

"Perhaps the general order issued by Sir Colin Campbell on the 9th of December, may be taken to throw some light on this perplexing question:—"Officers commanding batteries and troops in the royal artillery, must conform in all things to the usages and orders of the army as regards supply, organisation, management of horses, native servants, &c. *Doubtless there are many points which are new to the officers of the royal artillery, and perhaps, in some, reform may be desirable: but this is no time for change.* Hereafter the commander-in-chief, under the instructions of government, will receive any representation that may be made by the officers of the royal artillery; *but, in the meantime, the service must proceed according to the orders and precedents of that service with which the royal artillery has been lately associated.*"

"One thing is clear from this document: that Sir Colin, in addition to the other enormous difficulties of his position, had been pestered by ill-timed requests from the officers of the royal artillery under his command, to new-model all the arrangements for '*supply, management of horses, native servants, &c.*' which in India have necessarily grown out of the state of native society. These pedantic demands of holiday soldiers to have everything ordered so as to suit their preconceived notions, must have been urged with undue pertinacity, when the commander-in-chief in India, after being driven to tell the remonstrants, shortly and sharply, that '*this is no time for change*,' is further compelled to invoke the name of the supreme government for support. We say nothing of the judgment or modesty of men who, entirely new to India, could thus take upon themselves to insist dogmatically upon an entire alteration of arrangements prescribed by the peculiar characteristics of India. But we unhesitatingly affirm, that the complaints—call them what you will—which at so critical a time had been urged with a pertinacity that elicited such a general order as we

have quoted, cannot have fallen far short of mutiny."

The amiable temper of these remonstrants is not likely to have been much soothed by Sir Colin's sending General Dupuis and his staff back to Calcutta, and placing Bengal officers at the head of his artillery. And the following extract from the private letter of an intelligent and experienced officer, gives some inkling of the spirit which this measure has awakened among the malcontents:—

"Another cause of complaint against Sir Colin is, that he prefers Company's to Queen's officers. But I submit that the preference at the present moment is very natural. We are in the middle of a campaign; the Company's officers are acquainted with the language and manners of the natives, the topography of the country, and its resources; they know exactly whence to procure supplies; to what department to refer for the requirements of their men, horses, and guns. At present, the Queen's officers are, as a rule, ignorant on these subjects, and for every want, however small, they pester the commander-in-chief. He has no time to point out these things; and he prefers employing men who have all these points at their fingers' ends, and who can give, instead of ask for, information."

To impartial men this exculpation (?) would appear complete: not so to the friends of Generals Windham and Dupuis; who, it would appear from other passages in the letter from which we have been quoting, are trying to "make political capital" out of the soreness of the Queen's officers. The passages to which we refer are as follows:—

"With respect to General Windham, I may mention that all his friends inveigh in the bitterest terms against Sir Colin Campbell and General Mansfield; and with the assistance of a few 'ifs,' make out that the two latter are entirely responsible for what might have been the second massacre of Cawnpore. Windham's defeat they attribute—1st, to overwhelming odds against him; 2ndly, to mistakes made by his aides-de-camp; 3rdly, to the bad conduct of the troops. With respect to the first, I would reply that Havelock fought and conquered against equal odds; 2ndly, that General Windham is entirely responsible for the composition of his own staff; and 3rdly, that on the 27th the gallantry of the 64th was conspicuous, and would, with proper sup-

port, have ensured a decisive victory. The real fact is, that Sir Colin Campbell has a very poor opinion of Generals Windham and Dupuis; and it is because he has shown his sentiments respecting them that they now inveigh against him. It is even hinted that Windham will shortly return home to attack Sir Colin in parliament.

"We leave the public to draw their own conclusions from the arguments to which we have now directed their attention. Four things appear to us to be placed beyond a doubt. First, that the governor-general of India and the Duke of Cambridge have been, at least, speaking as partisans of General Windham; second, that there is understood to be a coolness between General Windham and Sir Colin Campbell; third, that an attempt is being made by some who flatter themselves that they have the ear of the Horse-guards, to convert the coolness which exists between these officers into a quarrel between the Queen's and the Company's service; and fourth, that this may compel ministers to make their option between recalling Sir Colin Campbell or General Windham. Are the English people and parliament prepared, in the event of matters being brought to this extremity, to see the man who effected the evacuation of Lucknow and saved Cawnpore, sacrificed to the offended vanity of the man who all but lost Cawnpore? Are they prepared to see a great general removed from command because he prefers experienced to inexperienced officers? In connection with this latter question, let them recall one circumstance connected with the glorious career of Wellington in the Peninsula. Wellington owed his victories in no small degree to his resolute determination to confide important duties to the best men, even when they were of inferior military rank and standing. He was absolute master in his own army. Sir Colin Campbell has shown that he possesses military genius sufficient to re-establish our Indian empire; but to enable him to do this, he must be, like Wellington, absolute master in his own army; he must have the free and unfettered choice of his own officers. Even Wellington, the brother of Wellesley, and the beloved youthful friend of Castlereagh, found difficulties at first in warding off undue interference; how much more difficulty must Sir Colin Campbell feel, who has no such powerful backers? It is the duty of the British nation to be to Colin Campbell what Lord Castlereagh was to

Arthur Wellesley. The British nation must, if necessary, be prepared to tell the Duke of Cambridge and Lord Canning, in the most unequivocal terms, that Sir Colin is to be allowed in all respects to conduct the war in his own way."

The month of December, 1857, had commenced amidst much cause for anxiety and for vigorous effort on the part of the English commander. The convoy of Lucknow fugitives was still necessarily detained under the protection of the troops at Cawnpore, whose operations were shackled by the presence of the helpless and useless multitude. The Gwalior mutineers still held possession of the town and the greatest part of the suburbs, from whence their artillery kept up an incessant cannonade upon the intrenchment and the southern cantonments, in which the convoy and the Lucknow force were encamped; but until the women and children, with the wounded people, could be safely dispatched on their route to Allahabad, the hands of Sir Colin Campbell were tied. He daily saw his officers and men fall around him, without being able prudently to act against the enemy. The loss of officers alone, in the week from the 26th of November to the 2nd of December, amounted to ten killed, thirty-two wounded, and two missing.

Before entering upon details connected with the movements of the opposing forces on the 6th of December, it should be observed, for the purpose of illustrating those movements, that the town of Cawnpore lies on the right or west bank of the Ganges, about 130 miles north-west of Allahabad. The town does not extend quite down to the river; and in order to reach the latter, a sandy plain, of about two miles in breadth, must be traversed. This space, covered with officers' bungalows and their compounds, is called the cantonments, and it stretches several miles along the water-side. In this plain of the cantonments, there were, as already stated, the intrenchments, and the fort for the protection of the bridge of boats, which afforded the only means for crossing the river and communicating with the Lucknow-road. It was for the purpose of occupying these defences, and of protecting the bridge, and thereby preserving the communication with Sir Colin Campbell, that General Windham was entrusted with the command at Cawnpore. Through the cantonments there is a road, which, at a few miles' distance, south-

east of Cawnpore, joins the Grand Trunk-road, which unites Delhi, Cawnpore, Allahabad, and Calcutta. A considerable distance northward of this junction, but before reaching the city, were the ruins of the intrenchment in which the late Sir Hugh Wheeler was besieged by Nana Sahib and his rebel force. This road through the cantonments, and the Grand Trunk-road, it should be observed, was the line of retreat to be taken by the rescued garrison of Lucknow, on the route to Allahabad; and its preservation was therefore of vital importance.

When, on the evening of the 30th of November, the whole of the convoy and troops had crossed from Oude, the position of the entire British camp was in the form of a half-circle, stretching from some old dragoon lines lying near the Ganges, and the fort, south-westward across the Grand Trunk-road, and round the position occupied by Sir Hugh Wheeler. In short, its right rested on the river, while its centre and left covered the Grand Trunk-road.

It should further be observed, that the city of Cawnpore lay in front of the British camp, separated by a canal running east and west, the larger portion of the city being on its northern side. On the evening that Sir Colin arrived from Lucknow, the mutineers were driven from that part of the city which lay nearest the British intrenchments; and Brigadier Greathed, about the same time, occupied the General-gunge—an old bazaar of very considerable extent, which lay along the canal in front of the line occupied by the British camp. Thus, it will be seen, that the enemy were on the north side of the canal, and the British on the south side, having one advanced post (the General-gunge) on the canal itself. The rebels' right, facing the British left, stretched out beyond the angle formed by the Grand Trunk-road and the canal; and before closing with it, the British force would therefore be obliged to cross the canal by the only two bridges that formed the communication. The centre of the enemy was in the town of Cawnpore, where he occupied the houses and bazaars which overhung the canal. The city, in this part, was full of narrow lanes, the houses in which were loopholed, and the principal streets were carefully barricaded. This division of the enemy's force was exactly opposite to the British advanced post named the General-gunge, held by Bri-

gadier Greathed; but this position of the enemy, strong as it appeared to be, in reality proved his weakness; for, between his centre and his right, there was the wall of the city, which separated one portion of his force from the other so completely, that, in case of emergency, he had no means of transferring troops from one flank to the other. The left division of the rebel force occupied the old cantonment—namely, that portion of the ground which lies between the city and the Ganges. In the rear of this position, and about a mile and a-half distant, in a direct line from the British intrenchments, was the Subahdar's Tank, and in front of this was the Baptist chapel. Thus the entire line of the rebel force extended from the Ganges through the city of Cawnpore, and along the canal westward of the city wall, which was parallel to the canal. The camp of the enemy was pitched two miles in rear of his right division, and covered the Calpee-road, which afterwards formed his line of retreat. This disposition of the enemy's force did not escape the notice of the commander-in-chief, who saw, in a moment, the disadvantage to which it would be exposed, if the attack was directed from a particular point; and upon that point, therefore, he determined to base his operations.

On the night of the 5th of December, the force of the enemy at Cawnpore consisted of about 25,000 men, with at least forty pieces of artillery; while the facilities afforded by his position for the uninterrupted junction of other mutinous regiments by the Calpee-road, rendered the actual strength and resources of the rebel army—which already outnumbered, by more than two-thirds, the aggregate strength of the British troops opposed to it—a point on which no certain calculation could be based. The comprehensive genius of the commander-in-chief, was, however, equal to the emergency forced upon him by the adverse circumstances that had thrown a cloud over the proceedings of the few previous days; and, as usual, he grasped the difficulties of his position with a determination to overcome them. The force under his command on the 5th of December, amounted to about 8,000 men of all arms, of which, in round numbers, not more than 7,500 were available for service in the field.

Early in the morning of the 6th, Sir Colin Campbell assigned to his several corps and officers their respective stations and

duties, and the moment for action at length arrived; the baggage, &c., of the army having first been taken down to the river-side for precaution. At nine o'clock on the morning of the 6th of December, a heavy bombardment was opened from the intrenchment to the east of Cawnpore, for the purpose of inducing the enemy to believe he would be attacked from that quarter. Brigadier Greathed's three regiments at the General-gunge bazaar were then reinforced by the 64th, the rest of the force being drawn up in contiguous columns in the plain of the cantonments, and effectually masked from the observation of the enemy. By eleven o'clock all was ready, and the infantry deployed in parallel lines fronting the canal—Brigadier Hope being in advance in one line, and Brigadier Inglis, of Lucknow, leading the second. The cavalry and horse artillery were then directed to cross the canal by a bridge a mile and a-half to the westward, and from thence threaten the enemy's rear. Immediately to the left of Brigadier Greathed, was another bridge over the canal, which was crossed by Brigadier Walpole, under cover of the guns. Keeping along the city wall, that officer drove the enemy from the shelter of some brick-kilns, and the whole line advanced—Captain Peel, with the heavy guns of his naval brigade, leading the way over the bridge, accompanied by a private of the 53rd regiment named Hannaford; and, in a short time, the whole of the British force was on the Cawnpore side of the canal, and the enemy's centre and right were driven back at all points. By one o'clock in the afternoon, his camp was reached, and taken possession of after a short struggle; and the rout of the rebel army became complete along the Calpee-road, for fourteen miles of which he was hotly pursued by cavalry and artillery; and so perfect was the abandonment of the enemy, that not a single gun or ammunition carriage on the right of his position escaped the grasp of the victors. But the triumph was yet incomplete: the left wing of the enemy still remained untouched; and, consequently, as the commander-in-chief passed through the unoccupied camp of the rebels, he dispatched General Mausfield, with a detachment, to secure the latter, and to take the position of the Subahdar's Tank, which stood in rear of the enemy's left. By skill and valour this task was admirably accomplished; and having occupied the camp, and

taken measures for maintaining a good post on the Calpee-road, General Mansfield advanced towards the tank, struggling over broken ground and through enclosures, and driving parties of the enemy before him. After a good deal of manœuvring, in ground highly favourable to the rebels, the general at length succeeded in obtaining the position assigned to him, and soon after had the satisfaction to see large bodies of the enemy's infantry and cavalry rapidly moving off, in full retreat, to the westward. As it was not practicable to communicate with Sir Colin after sunset, the position being almost isolated, and considerable numbers of the enemy being still in portions of the town and the old cantonment, the general strengthened the pickets round his position, and bivouacked for the night without molestation. The rebel centre finding itself without support, its camp lost, and its wings destroyed, broke up during the night, and fled from the town in every possible direction; and before Sir Colin Campbell returned to the British camp at the close of that well-fought day, the enemy had been driven completely from Cawnpore. The following are the despatches of the commander-in-chief, in reference to the battle of the 6th of December:—

"The Commander-in-Chief to the Governor-general.

"Head-quarters, Camp, Cawnpore, Dec. 10th.

"My Lord,—I have the honour to report to your lordship, that late on the night of the 3rd instant, the convoy, which had given me so much anxiety, including the families and half the wounded, was finally dispatched; and on the 4th and 5th the last arrangements were made for consigning the remainder of the wounded in places of safety, while a portion of the troops were withdrawn from the intrenchments to join the camp. On the afternoon of the 5th, about 3 P.M., the enemy attacked our left pickets with artillery, and showed infantry round our left flank. A desultory fire was also begun on our pickets in the Generalgunge, which is an old bazaar of very considerable extent along the canal, in front of the line occupied by the camp. These advanced positions had been held, since our arrival, by Brigadier Greathed's brigade with great firmness, the brigadier having displayed his usual judgment in their arrangement and support. On two or three occasions he had been supported by Captain Peel's heavy guns and Captain Bouchier's field battery, when the artillery of the enemy had

annoyed him and the general front of the camp. After two hours of cannonading, the enemy retired on the afternoon in question. Arrangements were then made for a general attack on him the next day.

"His left occupied the old cantonment, from which General Windham's post had been principally assailed. His centre was in the city of Cawnpore, and lined the houses and bazaars overhanging the canal, which separated it from Brigadier Greathed's position, the principal streets having been afterwards discovered to be barricaded. His right stretched some way beyond the angle formed by the Grand Trunk-road and the canal, two miles in rear of which the camp of the Gwalior contingent was pitched, and so covered the Calpee-road. This was the line of retreat of that body. In short, the canal, along which were placed his centre and right, was the main feature of his position, and could only be passed in the latter direction by two bridges. It appeared to me, if his right was vigorously attacked, that it would be driven from its position without assistance coming from other parts of his line; the wall of the town, which gave cover to our attacking columns on our right, being an effective obstacle to the movement of any portion of his troops from his left to right. Thus the possibility became apparent of attacking his division in detail.

"From intelligence received before and after the action, there seems to be little doubt that, in consequence of the arrival of four regiments from Oude, and the gathering of various mutinous corps which had suffered in previous actions, as well as the assemblage of all the Nana's followers, the strength of the enemy now amounted to about 25,000 men, with all the guns belonging to the contingent, some thirty-six in number, together with a few guns belonging to the Nana.

"Orders were given to General Windham, on the morning of the 6th, to open a heavy bombardment at 9 A.M. from the intrenchment in the old cantonments, and so induce the belief in the enemy that the attack was coming from the general's position. The camp was struck early, and all the baggage driven to the river-side under a guard, to avoid the slightest risk of accident. Brigadier Greathed, reinforced by the 64th regiment, was desired to hold the same ground opposite the centre of the enemy, which he had been occupying for some days past, as above mentioned, and at 11 A.M., the rest of the force, as per margin,* was drawn up in contiguous columns in rear of some old cavalry lines, and effectually masked from the observation of the enemy. The cannonade from the intrenchment having become slack at this time, the moment had arrived for the attack to commence.

"The cavalry and horse artillery, having been sent to make a detour on the left and across the canal, by a bridge a mile and a-half further up, and threaten the enemy's rear, the infantry deployed in parallel lines fronting the canal. Brigadier Hope's brigade was in advance in one line, Brigadier Inglis's brigade being in rear of Brigadier

* *Artillery Brigade*—Two troops of horse artillery; three light field batteries; guns of the naval brigade; heavy field battery royal artillery. *Cavalry Brigade*—Her majesty's 9th lancers; detachments of 1st, 2nd, and 5th Punjab cavalry, and Hodson's horse. *4th Infantry Brigade*—Her majesty's 53rd regiment; her majesty's 42nd and 93rd highlanders; 4th Punjab rifles. *5th Infantry Brigade*—Her

majesty's 23rd fusiliers; her majesty's 32nd regiment; her majesty's 82nd regiment. *6th Infantry Brigade*—2nd and 3rd battalion rifle brigade; detachment of her majesty's 38th foot. *Engineer Brigade*—Royal engineers, and detachments of Bengal and Punjab; sappers and miners attached to the various brigades of infantry. (The whole of the force enumerated did not exceed 7,500 men.)

Hope. At the same time Brigadier Walpole, assisted by Captain Smith's field battery, royal artillery, was directed to pass the bridge immediately to the left of Brigadier Greathed's position, and to drive the enemy from the brick-kilns, keeping the wall of the city for his guide. The whole attack then proceeded, the enemy quickly responding, from his proper right, to the fire of our heavy and field artillery.

"Good use was made of these guns by Captain Peel, C.B., R.N., and the artillery officers under Major-general Dupuis, C.B., R.A., Brigadier Crawford, R.A., and Major Turner, B.A. The Sikhs of the 4th Punjab infantry, thrown into skirmishing order, supported by her majesty's 53rd foot, attacked the enemy in some old mounds and brick-kilns to our left, with great vigour.

"The advance then continued with rapidity along the whole line, and I had the satisfaction of observing, in the distance, that Brigadier Walpole was making equal progress on the right. The canal bridge was quickly passed, Captain Peel leading over it with a heavy gun, accompanied by a soldier of her majesty's 53rd, named Hannaford. The troops which had gathered together, resuming their line of formation with great rapidity on either side as soon as it was crossed, and continuing to drive the enemy at all points, his camp was reached and taken at 1 P.M., and his rout was complete along the Calpee-road.

"I must here draw attention to the manner in which the heavy 24-pounder guns were impelled and managed by Captain Peel and his gallant sailors. Through the extraordinary energy and good-will with which the latter had worked, their guns have been constantly in advance throughout our late operations, from the relief of Lucknow, till now, as if they were light field-pieces, and the service rendered by them in clearing our front has been incalculable. On this occasion there was the sight beheld of 24-pounder guns advancing with the first line of skirmishers.

"Without losing any time, the pursuit with cavalry, infantry, and light artillery was pressed with the greatest eagerness to the fourteenth milestone on the Calpee-road, and I have reason to believe that every gun and cart of ammunition which had been in that part of the enemy's position, which had been attacked, now fell into our possession. I had the satisfaction of accompanying the troops engaged in the pursuit, and of being able to bear witness to their strenuous endeavours to make the most of the success which had been achieved. When I passed the camp and went forward on the Calpee-road, Major-general Mansfield was desired by me to make arrangements for the attack of the position called the Subahdar's Tank, which extended round the left rear of the enemy's position in the old cantonments. As this operation was a separate one, I beg to enclose for your lordship's consideration the major-general's own narrative.

"The troops having returned from the pursuit at midnight on the 6th, and their baggage having reached them on the afternoon of the next day, Brigadier-general Grant was detached in pursuit on the 8th, with the cavalry, some light artillery, and a brigade of infantry, with orders to destroy public buildings belonging to the Nana Sahib at Bithoor, and to press on to Serai-Ghât, twenty-five miles from hence, if he had good tidings of the retreating enemy. This duty was admirably performed by the

brigadier-general, and he caught the enemy when he was about to cross the river with his remaining guns. The brigadier-general attacked him with great vigour; and by the excellent disposition he made of his force, succeeded in taking every gun the enemy possessed, without losing a single man. I have the pleasure to enclose the brigadier-general's report for your lordship's perusal.

"It now remains for me to bring to your lordship's notice the officers who have distinguished themselves during the series of operations which have occurred under my own eyes, since this field force left the neighbourhood of Lucknow. I have a particular pleasure in again bringing to your lordship's notice the zeal and great ability with which Major-general W. R. Mansfield, chief of the staff, has conducted the very important duties of his high position, and of my obligations to him for the most valuable assistance he has afforded me during the whole of the recent operations. I desire also to call your lordship's attention to the able and distinguished manner in which he conducted the troops placed under his orders, after the enemy's centre had been divided, to the attack of their strong position at the Subahdar's Tank, and to recommend to your lordship's favourable consideration the names of the officers who assisted him.

"I have to thank Brigadier-general Hope Grant, C.B., very particularly for the admirable manner in which he has conducted the duties of the force, and more particularly for his exertions on the 6th of December, and the capital operations he performed on the 8th and 9th. The brigadier-general speaks in the highest terms of his divisional and personal staff.

"I have the greatest satisfaction in bringing to your lordship's notice, Brigadiers Greathed, the Hon. A. Hope, Walpole, and Inglis. These officers have all exerted themselves to the utmost, and have fully justified my expectations. They desire to record their obligations to the officers commanding corps in their respective brigades, and to their brigade staff.

"Owing to his knowledge of the ground, I requested Major-general Windham to remain in command of the intrenchment, the fire of which was a very important feature in the operations of the 6th of December, although I felt and explained to General Windham that it was a command hardly worthy of an officer of his rank. He gave me every satisfaction, and I have to thank him accordingly.

"I must particularly notice the exertions of Captain H. W. Norman, assistant-adjutant-general of the army; of Captain Herbert Bruce, deputy-quartermaster-general; and of Captain J. H. Smyth, Bengal artillery, the latter of whom had been requested by me to take command of the artillery in the intrenchment, as a special duty. Captain Smyth has rendered other great and valuable services since he left Calcutta, of which I have not had an opportunity before of recording my approval. I desire also to bring to your lordship's favourable notice, the officers on the general staff, or belonging to the personal staff of myself or Major-general Mansfield.

"To the crew of her majesty's ship *Shannon*, and to the royal and Bengal artillery, my thanks are alike due; but more particularly to Captain Peel, C.B., royal navy; to Brigadier Crawford, royal artillery; and to Major Turner, Bengal horse artillery. I cannot refrain from again drawing your lordship's most marked attention to the very distin-

guished merits of the last-named (Major Turner.) As is always the case in the three services, the batteries and troops were manœuvred with remarkable dexterity.

"Captain Peel has brought to my favourable notice Lieutenant Vaughan, royal navy, and I should much wish that this recommendation may be known to the admiralty; and Brigadier Crawford has expressed his obligations to his brigade-major, Captain H. L. G. Bruce, Bengal artillery, and has mentioned with marked distinction all the officers holding commands. Major-general Dupuis, C.B., royal artillery, commanded the artillery during the action, in consequence of his accidental presence in camp; and I beg to thank him for his exertions, as well as those of his staff. Colonel Harness, royal engineers, was also present in the same manner, and accompanied me throughout the action. General Grant has also brought to my notice the distinguished conduct of Brigadier Little, commanding the cavalry, as also of officers commanding corps in that brigade, and its staff officers.

"During the pursuit of the 6th, and the operation of the 9th, the cavalry maintained that high character for dash and perseverance which has distinguished them since they took the field in the numerous engagements of their long campaign. I desire also to mention Major Payne, of the 53rd regiment, whom I saw performing very valuable service during the first advance on the 6th instant. I must not allow this opportunity to pass without bearing my testimony to the unwearied zeal and assiduity of the superintending surgeon, Dr. J. C. Brown, Bengal artillery, which have never flagged for an instant, and have been of the greatest use to the force in the field from the time the troops first moved before going to Delhi. I beg to recommend him most particularly to your lordship's favourable consideration.—I have, &c.,

"C. CAMPBELL, General, Commanding-in-Chief."

The report of General Mansfield to the commander-in-chief was as follows:—

"Head-quarters, Camp, Cawnpore, Dec. 10th.

"Sir,—In obedience to your excellency's instructions, when I left your side after the capture of the enemy's camp, on the afternoon of the 6th December, I proceeded to make the arrangements for taking the position called the Subahdar's Tank, in rear of the enemy's left, and about a mile and a-half in a direct line from the intrenchments through the old cantonment.

"Before advancing, measures were taken for the safe guard of the captured camp, Colonel Kelly, with a wing of the 38th foot, being placed in position for that purpose, in addition to the 23rd regiment, which had already been left there by your excellency. These two regiments repelled an attack in the course of the afternoon, and took two guns from the enemy. The 93rd highlanders, who had been placed on the Grand Trunk-road, beyond the camp to the left, at the time that your excellency gave the orders for pressing the pursuit of the enemy along the Calpee-road, were now, at 2 P.M., beginning to suffer from the enemy's guns, which were in position about one thousand yards in their front, in the enclosures between them and the tank. They were advanced a short distance with Captain Middleton's field battery, R.A., which answered the enemy's guns, until the rifle brigade under Brigadier Walpole,

and the heavy field battery under Captain Longden, R.A., could be brought up. In the course of half-an-hour this had taken place, and the heavy field battery pushed along the road intersecting the Grand Trunk-road, about a mile to the left of the enemy's camp, and leading directly to the old cantonment. The rifles were extended in skirmishing order some 300 yards on each side of the road, slightly in advance of the heavy guns, the highlanders being kept in reserve.

"These arrangements having been made, the advance took place, and the enemy began to give way immediately, successive positions being taken up, and a rapid fire maintained, by Captain Longden and Captain Middleton, of the royal artillery, the rifles passing through the enclosures to the right, and the broken ground to the left of the road, with much spirit, under the able directions of Brigadier Walpole.

"On the entrance of the village being reached, which may be distinguished as the soldiers' burial-ground, although the enclosures were still held to a certain degree by the enemy, it appeared to me expedient to push the field battery through the village at a gallop, and take position in the plain, with the tank on the right, the infantry being desired to press forward as fast as they could. This was done very well by Captain Middleton, R.A., and he had the satisfaction of firing at the enemy's guns as they disappeared along the Bithoor-road, whilst the rifles were still running up to his support. The position was then fairly occupied, Brigadier Hope coming up with the reserve of highlanders, and taking charge of the pickets which were thrown out on the line of the enemy's retreat. About 4 P.M. the position which had been taken was attacked by artillery, brought by the enemy from the old cantonment. These guns might have been taken; but I refrained from giving the necessary order, being aware that it was contrary to your excellency's wish to involve the troops among the enclosures and houses of the old cantonment; and that, if the slightest advance had been made in that quarter, it would have been necessary, at whatever loss, to make no stop till the intrenchment should have been reached. When Captain Longden's and Captain Middleton's batteries had almost succeeded in silencing the enemy's fire, the position was attacked by some guns of the enemy from the broken ground of the plain on exactly the opposite side. They could not be seen, except by their smoke. They were, however, answered quickly, and all the men and field hospital, &c., having been put under tolerable cover, no harm was suffered by the troops in consequence of this attack. At dusk I had the satisfaction of seeing large bodies of the enemy's infantry and cavalry move round to the west of the position about a mile distant, in full retreat.

"It not being possible to communicate with your excellency after sunset, the position taken up being almost isolated, and, as reported to me, there being considerable numbers of the enemy still in occupation of the town and old cantonment, the pickets all round the position were slightly strengthened, and the troops bivouacked by their arms. Everything having been quiet during the night, the highlanders were withdrawn the next morning, and replaced by the 38th foot under your excellency's orders.

"My thanks are eminently due to Brigadier Walpole, who commanded the advance, and Brigadier Hope, commanding the reserve; to Captains

Middleton and Longden, commanding the batteries of artillery, and to my aide-de-camp, Captain Mansfield, who was of the greatest use to me till he was unfortunately severely wounded after the guns had passed the village. Captain Herbert Bruce, deputy-quartermaster-general, whose merits are so highly considered by your excellency, distinguished himself very much by his knowledge and appreciation of the ground, and was the cause of my being able to direct the troops with tolerable certainty. The brigadiers report very highly on the conduct of the officers commanding corps—viz., Lieutenant-colonel A. S. L. Hay, 93rd highlanders; Lieutenant-colonel Horsford, 3rd battalion rifle brigade; Brevet Lieutenant-colonel Fyers, 2nd battalion rifle brigade.

"I have, &c.,

"W. R. MANSFIELD, Maj.-gen., Chief of the Staff."

The foregoing signal defeat of the rebels by the commander-in-chief, was reported, by a native writer in the service of the Maharajah Scindia, in the following terms:—

"Calpee, December 8th, 1857.

"Three hurkarus came straight from Cawnpore to-day, and reported, that the Gwalior contingent rebels, having collected all their force and stores at Bhoti, advanced thence to a place two coss nearer to Cawnpore, and left there, with fifty or sixty men, their camp and bazaar. The whole force, including sepoy and chiefs, with their followers of all sorts, amounted to 15,000 men. Their plan was to fight with their guns up to 12 P.M., and then to assault and carry the intrenchments. At Mogul Serai, near Cawnpore, the English had a battery, and there the fight began. The rebels fought very bravely up to 12 P.M., when the English began to retire, and the rebels followed them until they were two coss from the rebel camp. Then 500 English, with two guns, advancing on the Allahabad-road, attacked the rebel camp, and captured it with all that was in it. Leaving a guard there, they then attacked the rear of the rebels, when the retiring English turned and attacked them in front. The rebels could not endure this double attack, and fled; and the English chased them to Sach-eindee, and took, on the road, their guns, baggage, magazine—everything. Meanwhile, the two great guns which the rebels had sent for, with ammunition, from Calpee, having reached Renniah, the English marched thither also, and captured them. The three hurkarus who report this were in the action, and with great difficulty saved their lives, but none of their property; and of the flying sepoy, no village would admit a man within its walls—not even if it were his own home. The hurkarus put-up in the village of Muttabel-

pore; and there, at twelve o'clock at night, came Koor Dawlut Sing; but the people would not let him halt there. I cannot tell how many were slain, but shall hear to-morrow. The English fought in this battle as Roostum and Isfendian, alone, fought before. The Sahibs dismounted amid the fire of the guns, and slew the gunners with their swords, and, rushing upon the gunners, stopped them as they applied the match; while the English so worked their guns, that winking is a slow operation compared to the rapidity of their fire. They fired after the fugitives as their noise directed; and if they but saw a head, that head was crushed. The blood of the dead and wounded flowed in streams.

"Whoever shall hear this news will rejoice; for these men, who injured and trampled on high and low, have received punishment from God proportioned to their cruelty. And great as was their bravery, as signal has been their flight and destruction. The dead are doomed to *dozukh*. Balla Sahib, brother of the Nana, who was wounded in the shoulder, took refuge in Calpee, where he has been since busy in bringing together guns, ammunition, and provisions."

These energetic operations on the 6th of the month, so completely dismayed the chiefs of the mutinous army, that their arrangements were thrown into confusion, and they separated—some marching off in one direction, some in another, but without any apparent unity of purpose. After securing and concentrating his resources on the 7th, Sir Colin lost no time in devising further work for the officers and men by whom he had been so ably seconded. On the 8th of December, orders were issued to Brigadier Hope Grant, to proceed to the late residence of Nana Sahib at Bithoor, and clear that locality of any rebel force that might have gathered there; if necessary, advancing to Serai-ghât—a ferry over the Ganges, about twenty-five miles from Cawnpore. This officer accordingly marched, with a column of 2,800 men and eleven guns, to Bithoor, which he passed through without resistance, and reached Soorajpore, three miles short of Serai-ghât, where he bivouacked for the night. Early in the morning of the 9th, after leaving a portion of his column to protect the baggage, he advanced with the main body, and found the enemy assembling on the bank of the river. The guns

of the opposing forces were soon engaged in action; and, after a sharp fire of about half-an-hour's continuance, the artillery of the enemy was silenced. During the cannonade, a body of the enemy's cavalry made a desperate effort to capture the guns of the British force, but were met by Grant's cavalry, which charged upon them; and the intended attack of the rebel sowars was changed into a hurried flight, in the course of which a great number of them were cut down by their pursuers. The nature of the ground, however, was such, that most of the enemy reached the cover of trees and houses before the English troops could intercept them, and thus, for a time, escaped destruction. In this affair, the cavalry and artillery only were engaged, as the enemy had retreated before the infantry could reach the ground, leaving behind them fourteen brass guns and howitzers, one iron 18-pounder, and a large store of waggons and ammunition, all of which were speedily secured. In this fortunate affair, not a single casualty occurred on the side of the British; and, consequently, Brigadier Grant's return of killed, wounded, and missing, was *nil*.

The following is that officer's report of the affair at Serai-ghât, addressed to the chief of the staff:—

"Camp, Serai-ghât, December 11th, 1857.

"Sir,—At mid-day on the 8th inst., having received his excellency the commander-in-chief's orders, through you, to march to Bithoor, and, if I thought advisable, or heard of any of the rebels' guns being at Serai-ghât (a ferry about twenty-five miles above Cawnpore, on the Ganges), to proceed there, I started with the force named in the margin;* and from what I could learn on the road, I had reason to believe that a certain number of guns had been taken to this ghât. Towards evening I halted the force, and directed the men to have their dinners. I then proceeded on to Soorajpore, a village on the road, within three miles of Serai-ghât, where I halted the force until daylight. I then collected the baggage, and had it placed in a safe spot, covered by a portion of artillery, cavalry, and infantry. I moved the remainder within about two miles of the ghât, when I proceeded to reconnoitre with a party of the 9th lancers, and found on the banks of the river a force assembled, and horsemen and sepoys with baggage moving down towards the spot. I immediately ordered up the cavalry and guns; but the road under the banks of the river was of such a dangerous nature, from the quicksands, that the heavy 9-pounders of Captain Middleton's battery, drawn by tired horses, ran great risk of being altogether stopped; and it

was only through the hard exertions and praise-worthy conduct of Captain Middleton, Lieutenant Millman (in command of the battery), and the men, that the guns were got through. An 18-pounder of the enemy was here discovered fixed in the quicksands. Two guns of the field battery having got over this difficulty, and on to the dry bank of the river, soon got into position; and under a very severe fire from thirteen of the rebels' guns, Lieutenant Millman brought his guns into play. Soon after, Captain Remington's troop galloped up, and took up a most admirable position covered by the bank of a ditch, opening on the enemy a flanking fire, which, together with the remainder of the field battery, now come up, in half-an-hour's time completely silenced the enemy's fire, and put them in full retreat.

"A force of the rebels' cavalry, upon this, came up to try and take our guns; but the 9th lancers, under Major Ouvry, the 5th Punjab horse, under Lieutenant Younghusband, and Hodson's horse, under Lieutenant Gough (the whole commanded by Brigadier Little), advanced upon them, drove them away, and Lieutenant Younghusband, who was sent out in pursuit with his men, cut up some eighty or ninety stragglers, and took three standards. The movement of our cavalry towards the rear of the enemy no doubt had the effect of hurrying their retreat from their guns; but the ground was of such a nature as to prevent the possibility of getting at them before they had got under cover of trees and houses. The infantry brigade, under Brigadier the Hon. Adrian Hope, was of great use in supporting the advance of the cavalry; but before they reached the ground the enemy were in retreat. As soon as possible, I sent up the Sikh infantry to secure the guns; and am happy to say, fourteen brass guns and one 18-pounder, with limbers, waggons, &c., and a large quantity of ammunition, were taken.

"The success was complete; and I am truly grateful to God, and happy to say, though the fire of grape from the enemy was most severe and well-placed, falling amongst the artillery like hail, I had not a single man even wounded, and only one horse of Captain Middleton's battery killed. It was truly marvellous and providential. Thirteen guns, most of them 9-pounders and 24-pounder howitzers, were playing with grape on the gallant artillery, and with round shot upon the cavalry, the former within about 500 yards (and his excellency is well aware with what precision these rebels fire their guns), and yet not one single man was wounded.

"I gave directions at once to remove everything from the spot; and the highlanders, 53rd regiment, and Sikhs, with a most praiseworthy zeal and activity, brought off all the guns, waggons, &c., from the quicksands beyond which they had been placed. The troops had been marching since one o'clock on the 8th, with occasional halts; and the moving-in of the guns to a position I had taken up for them, within about three-quarters of a mile of the camp, was not accomplished till dusk the following day. They had little to eat or drink for nearly twenty-four hours; but there was not a complaint.

"I beg to request you will lay the names of the undermentioned officers before his excellency the commander-in-chief. Captain Middleton, who com-

* 1st troop 1st brigade horse artillery, 83 men, 5 guns; 7th company, 14th battalion, royal artillery, 139 men, 6 guns; 9th lancers, 327 men; 5th Punjab cavalry, 85 men; Hodson's horse, 109 men;

4th brigade—42nd highlanders, 403 men; 53rd foot, 413 men; 93rd highlanders, 806 men; 4th Punjab rifles, 332 men; sappers, 100: the whole amounting to 2,797 men, and eleven guns.

manded the whole of the artillery, rendered the greatest service, both in the action and in the moving of the guns; Lieutenant Millman, who commanded the battery; Captain Remington, who worked his guns admirably, and who was most zealous in giving every assistance to Captain Middleton; Brigadier A. Little, to whom I was much indebted for his cavalry support to the guns, and for the way in which he brought his force to the front on the advance of the enemy; Major Ouvry, commanding the 9th lancers, a most active and zealous officer; Lieutenant Young-husband, commanding 5th Punjab cavalry; and Lieutenant Gough, commanding Hodson's horse: to all of whom my thanks are due for the very able way in which they commanded their regiments. Lieutenant Malcolm, commanding the royal engineers, and Lieutenant Forbes, commanding the Bengal engineers, who, with their men, executed the work entrusted to them with great ability and zeal; Brigadier the Hon. A. Hope, commanding the infantry brigade, was of the greatest possible assistance, and behaved with his usual well-known gallantry; Lieutenant-colonel Thorold, commanding 42nd high-

landers; Colonel Faber, commanding 53rd regiment; Lieutenant-colonel Leith Hay, commanding 93rd highlanders; and Captain Ryves, commanding 4th Punjab infantry.

"My thanks are also due to the officers engaged for the able manner in which they commanded their regiments. Captain Bruce, head of the intelligence department, rendered me very great assistance in procuring information regarding the movements of the enemy.—I have, &c.,

"HOPE GRANT, Brigadier-general,
commanding Force."

The result of these successful movements by Sir Colin Campbell and his brigadiers, was to clear the road around Cawnpore for a considerable distance, while it left the commander-in-chief at liberty to mature his plan of future operations, and also to strengthen his force preparatory to a final advance upon Lucknow.

CHAPTER VIII.

PREPARATIONS FOR A CAMPAIGN IN OUDE; ATTACK UPON A REBEL FORCE AT JEERUM; NEEMUCH IN DANGER; INSUBORDINATION OF ODEYPORE CONTINGENT; THE FORT AT NEEMUCH; APPROACH OF REBEL FORCE; THE SIEGE; ASSAULT AND REPULSE; RETREAT OF REBEL TROOPS; CAPTURE OF A MOSLEM STANDARD; DETAILS OF THE SIEGE; MEHIDPORE; DEFECTION OF MALWA CONTINGENT; SLAUGHTER OF EUROPEAN OFFICERS; REBELS DEFEATED AT RAWUL; MUNDESORE EVACUATED BY THE REBEL TROOPS; THE NAWAB OF RUNEEA; OUTBREAKS AT CHITTAGONG AND DACCA; REBEL FORCE AT JELPIGOREE; AN EXECUTION; UNSUCCESSFUL PURSUIT OF THE ENEMY; JUNG BAHADOOR OF NEPAUL; THE GHOORKAS; GOVERNMENT NOTIFICATION; RECEPTION OF THE NEPAUL FORCE BY THE AUTHORITIES ON THE FRONTIER; ADVANCE TOWARDS GORUCKPORE; DEFEAT OF THE REBEL TROOPS; RECAPTURE OF GORUCKPORE; BATTLE OF SOHUNPORE; THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF EN ROUTE TO PUTTEGHUR; AFFAIR AT KALEE NUDDEE; FURRUCKABAD OCCUPIED; CONCENTRATION OF TROOPS FOR OUDE; STATE OF ROHILCUND; THE PUNJAB, MALWA, AND CENTRAL INDIA; HEROIC DEFENCE OF THE TREASURY AT TULLOWAN.

WHILE the operations detailed in the preceding chapter had been progressing at Cawnpore and the adjacent districts of the Upper Provinces, the revolutionary influences that raged over Hindostan were actively mischievous in other directions also; and, on every side, "war, and rumours of war," terrified and distressed society. The attention of the commander-in-chief was, at this period, principally confined to securing the advantages already obtained by his troops, and in maturing preparations for a campaign that should enable him to wrest Lucknow from the hands of its rebel masters, and restore the kingdom of Oude to the undisturbed domination of the British government. It was therefore not surprising, while thus occupied, that in distant quarters the fires of rebellion should

burst forth, and burn with undiminished fury, fed as they were by the brands of religious fanaticism and national hatred.

Turning from the Doab, now for a time cleared of the rebel forces, we trace the lurid flame in a south-west direction, to the border of Rajpootana, where it had spread its devastating influences over a wide extent of country. For many months, Neemuch had been one of the centres of disaffection in this province; and about the middle of October, the mutinous sepoys and their vagrant followers began to gather around it from the surrounding districts; a body of them, from Mundesore, concentrating at Jeerum (a walled town, about ten miles distant), with an intention to attack the garrison at Neemuch. The latter, however, took the initiative in the matter;

and on the 24th of the month, marched out to try their strength. The rebels to be attacked had arrived from Mundesore, and were about a hundred strong. Two advanced parties of the 2nd cavalry, under Captain Tucker and Lieutenant Blair respectively, were sent on the previous night by different roads, the main column following at half-past 5 A.M. The party under Captain Tucker fell in with the rebels near Jeerum at daylight; and leaving a reserve, under Lieutenant Le Geyt, in a concealed situation, he advanced with a few men towards the enemy, and charged right through them, paying with his life for the daring act. In the *mêlée*, Captain Lawrie, of the 21st native infantry, who had volunteered to accompany the party, and had vainly endeavoured to dissuade Tucker from rashly charging with his half-dozen men into so large a force, finding remonstrance useless, bravely resolved to share the danger of his companion, and was wounded severely in the breast with a lance, besides being much cut about by the swords of the enemy. His horse was shot under him; and one trooper, with Captain Tucker, was killed in the charge. The enemy was, however, sufficiently alarmed by this unexpected encounter, to induce them to retire to a position out of the reach of cavalry, before Lieutenant Le Geyt, who had but a handful of men in reserve, could come up with them. The body of Captain Tucker was carried off by the rebels, but afterwards recovered by the men of his own troop, severed from the head, which had been retained by his murderers.

While this affair was in progress, the main body from Neemuch, under Captain Simpson, arrived before the walls of Jeerum, and found the enemy assembled on the brow of a hill, about 200 yards in front of the town, where they remained until the 9-pounder guns of the column got into position, and sent a few rounds of grape amongst their ranks, when they slowly retired to take up a stronger position, behind the shelter of some huts. Captain Bannister was then dispatched with a squadron to the other side of the town, to cut off any stragglers, and the action proceeded, and raged for some time with unusual obstinacy on the part of the enemy. The infantry in vain attempted to dislodge the latter from their position; and in their advance for that purpose, Captain Reade, commanding a detachment of the 83rd

regiment, was killed, and Captain Soppit, of the 12th native infantry, dangerously wounded. Both infantry detachments seeing their commanders fall, made a retrograde movement; and the enemy, emboldened by it, rushed impetuously upon them, and captured one mortar, and had nearly obtained the guns, when Captain Simpson, with Lieutenants Blair and Le Geyt, with Riding-master Steers, charged with a squadron upon the enemy, recaptured the mortar, and dispersed the rebels, who fled to the fort. In this charge, Captain Simpson was severely wounded in the head, and his two lieutenants were also disabled. The day now approached its close; and a report reached Captain Bannister, who succeeded Captain Simpson in command of the column, that a large force of the enemy was advancing on Neemuch from another direction. For this reason, as well as on account of the great natural strength of the place, which rendered it impregnable without the aid of breaching guns, Captain Bannister determined upon returning to protect Neemuch, which he reached with the remains of his column the same night, taking with him the body of Captain Reade, which had been gallantly recovered, in the face of a heavy fire from the walls, by a Belooch of the 12th native infantry, named Mulam Khan.

The reported advance upon Neemuch was from Mundesore, about twenty-eight miles distant; and the rebel force collected for the purpose, was understood to consist of some 600 Affghans, or Belatees, 4,000 Meewatties, and 350 horsemen of various races, with seven guns: thus the threatened danger was obviously of a serious character. For several days, no perceptible movement on the part of the rebels appeared to substantiate the rumour; but at length, on Sunday, the 8th of the month, a spy arrived at the British camp about 3 P.M., and announced that the enemy, who had been for a day or two encamped at Mullhayar (an intermediate town, about twelve miles from Neemuch), were advancing in great force, the advanced guard of cavalry being already within three miles of the town. As no time was to be lost in an effort to check their approach, a detachment of the 2nd light cavalry, consisting of a hundred men under Captain Bannister, moved out, and proceeded along the Mundesore-road. By the time they had marched about two miles, the van of the enemy

was discovered drawn up in line in a commanding position, on the brow of a hill, with about a thousand yards of open plain in their front; having with them three guns, and numbering at least 3,500 men. With such an immense disparity of numbers, and advantage of position, it would have been madness to attack them, even had the dragoons with Captain Bannister been Europeans; and he therefore manœuvred about, until a reinforcement, for which he had sent back to the British camp, should arrive. After thus attracting the attention of the enemy, who fortunately remained inactive during the interval, Captain Showers, the officiating political agent in Mewar, joined the party under Bannister, with a number of troops belonging to the Rana of Odeypore; who merely added to the difficulty already existing, by positively refusing to advance against the rebels when the order was given them to do so. As it happened, the insubordination of these worthless auxiliaries extended no further than the mere refusal to attack the rebels; and after manœuvring about for some time, the troops gradually retired for the night to the lines, under shelter of the fort, the enemy making no effort to follow or prevent them.

The fort at Neemuch is a small square, measuring externally 170 yards, with a quadrangular bastion at each angle; the walls, $18\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, by 8 thick at the base, had on the inner face open casemates, which were chiefly converted into barracks. The eastern and western bastions were built solid, to allow of heavy ordnance or mortars being placed upon them; the southern and northern were hollow, but bomb-proof; and in the former of the two the magazine was contained. The gateway of the fortification was in the north-eastern curtain, protected by a drawbridge and deep ditch; and in front of it, at a short distance, was a mound or embankment to mask the gate, called the Victoria mound, upon which a 24-pounder gun was mounted. On the bastions were placed an 8-inch mortar, two 9-pounders, two French 6-pounders, and a couple of guns taken from the rebels at Nimbhaira. The stock of ammunition was limited; and as there were no loopholes in the parapet of the curtain, about 1,000 sand-bags were made, and arranged to supply the deficiency.

Externally, on three sides of the fort, and extending for about 1,500 yards, was a

tolerably deep trench, the excavated soil forming an embankment towards the fort; and on the fourth side was a wide nullah, which had been dammed up. Upon the space between the trench and the walls of the fortification, the political agent (Captain Showers) had his bungalow and compound, the latter being well stocked with trees and outhouses. The garrison within the fort consisted of the following troops—viz., eleven artillery officers and sergeants, thirty-seven Christian troopers of the 2nd light cavalry, sixty-nine men of her majesty's 83rd regiment, 206 of the 12th Bombay native infantry, and four volunteers; making a total of 327 fighting-men. There were also in the fort, for protection, two ladies with their families, several sergeants' wives with their children, forty-one sick of the various corps, and some native servants; making altogether a total of 778 persons. Besides these there were all the gun horses, with about twenty others belonging to the officers, and several commissariat bullocks. For this number of persons and cattle there was but an indifferent supply of provisions; and the water supply for the whole was only to be obtained from two wells in the fort, each about ten feet in diameter, and containing about twelve feet of water.

The night of the 8th of November was allowed to pass without interruption; but about seven o'clock on the morning of the 9th, the shouts of the approaching rebels were heard. Orders were issued for all persons, except the cavalry in the intrenchment, to retire within the fort, and the gates were closed. In a few minutes the rebel movements became visible from the bastions, and their standards were advanced to near the ruins of the old residency buildings destroyed in the outbreak of June, which were about 300 yards distant from the fort.

The cavalry within the intrenchment now mounted, and moved off along the Nimbhaira-road, taking with them, or rather followed by, the whole of the native servants who had remained outside the fort. The rebels, encouraged by this movement, made an advance towards the fortification; but as soon as they came sufficiently near, a 24-pound shot, which fell in their midst, warned them that they had been expected, but were not desired. A considerable number of them then, with one gun, made a detour to a village named Bagana, about 1,300 yards to the rear of the fort; while the

remainder spread themselves out in the cover unfortunately made for them by the plantations and buildings in Showers' compound. The Bagana party immediately opened fire upon the fort with their 12-pounder gun, but without effect; and a little shell and 9-pounder practice from the bastions soon rendered the gun useless, and compelled the rebels to move back to the residency buildings, where they had established their head-quarters. The division in the compound and trenches kept up a constant fire throughout the day, and rendered it dangerous for any head to be visible above the parapet of the fort.

During the week the enemy kept up an incessant attack upon the fortifications with his guns and small arms, but the garrison were equally vigilant and alert in returning his fire. Some desertions from the native detachments in the fort occurred; and on the fifth day (Friday), a spy from the enemy, who had come in with some cossids, was detected in the garrison: on the following day, as he would give no information, he was tried by a court of native officers, and sentenced to death; and being led to the summit of the mortar bastion, he was seated upon the parapet and shot—his body falling over the wall, to be picked up by his fellow-traitors. On Wednesday, the 18th of the month (the tenth day of the siege), an attempt was made from the fort to dispatch a messenger to the Mhow force, which was supposed to be then at Mundesore. The cossid was apprehensive of being recognised by some of the men who had deserted from the fort, and was reluctant to leave it, but was compelled to do so, as the supplies of firewood and water were rapidly diminishing, and no other means existed of replenishing either. The poor fellow's presentiment of danger was realised, as about 2 P.M. he was taken by the enemy, who drove him at the point of the sword towards their camp. Although seen, the distance was too great to justify an attempt to rescue him, and he was necessarily left to his fate.

On the night of the 20th of November, a great deal of activity was visible in the rebel camp, and around the bazaar; and about four on the following morning, a sepoy of the 12th regiment reported, that the enemy, in good force, was advancing towards the north-east curtain. The information was found to be correct, and the alarm was sounded. Almost at the same moment, a heavy fire of musketry opened upon the

rebels from the southern bastion, and from the curtain on both its flanks: a well-directed discharge of grape from the northern bastion and the mortar bastion also commenced; and the effect of the fire was such that the attacking division was driven off. In this portion of the defence the sepoys of the 12th native regiment were stated to have behaved admirably. The first party had scarcely retired, when shouts were heard to "advance" and "drag," and it was seen that another portion of the rebel force were bringing a gun as near as possible to the southern bastion, which was hollow, for the purpose of trying the effect of shot at close quarters on the wall. These men came on to their work with loud shouts and discordant yells; but a shell, judiciously directed, was lodged just in front of them, and followed by another which burst in the middle of, and opened, their ranks very considerably. After repeated efforts to advance, the enemy retired from the ground dispirited and thoroughly checked, leaving behind them their scaling-ladders, and, at a tent near the southern bastion, one of their consecrated Moslem standards. The acquisition of the latter became an object of intense desire among the officers and others in the fort, and several volunteered to bring it in; but Captain Simpson, the senior officer, refused to risk his Europeans for the purpose. At length, a havildar, Teeka Sing, and the Belooch, Mulam Khan, offered to descend from the southern bastion and bring in the coveted prize, and they were permitted to make the attempt. Admiring the intrepidity of Mulam Khan upon a former occasion, Captain Lloyd took off his own sword and fastened it round the waist of the gallant soldier; and on the signal being given, the two brave men nimbly descended, under cover of the fire from the walls, and seizing the standard, quickly returned with it, without being in any way harmed. Mulam Khan, as a reward for his spirit, was made a havildar on the bastion at once, and Teeka Sing was promoted to jemadar.

On the following night, considerable noise was heard in the rebel camp towards the residency and in Showers' compound, and a desperate attempt to recover the captured standard was expected; but, to the great relief of the garrison, about five o'clock in the morning of the 22nd, it became apparent that the rebels were moving off. Shortly afterwards, a Borah, whose nose had been cut off by the enemy, came to the fort, and

reported that an attack had certainly been intended, but that during the night, an express had arrived from the Shahzadah at Mundesore, ordering all the faithful to repair to that place forthwith, and assist in repelling the attack made upon it by the Mhow column.

On examining the position held by the rebels after their departure, the bank of the intrenchment was found scooped out in numerous places, to allow of men being well covered while firing upon the fort, the general appearance being that of a rabbit-warren.

The following memoranda of the siege of Neemuch may not be uninteresting:—

"November 8th.—About 5 P.M. the enemy appeared before the fort: a *reconnaissance* was made by the 2nd Bombay cavalry, under Captain Bannister, in which Lieutenant Stapleton's (1st Bengal light cavalry) charger was mortally wounded by a round shot from the enemy. The enemy were seen to be in force, with several guns, their number supposed to amount to about 4,000. Our cavalry returned about sunset.

"It having been determined that, with our small force of only about 400 effective fighting-men, we could not meet the enemy in the field, the cavalry, with some baggage, marched out into the neighbouring country in the early morning. About 8 A.M. the enemy came into the station, burning the houses that the mutineers of the 3rd of June had spared. The enemy had fired a few shots from a large gun placed near the village of Nixongunge; but our shells from the 8-inch mortars interfered with their shooting a good deal. Their sharpshooters took possession of some outhouses and the intrenchment, and kept up a heavy fire. Lieutenant Williams, 21st grenadier Bombay native infantry, was struck by one of them to-day, the bullet going through his hat and tearing his forehead above the left eye—rather a narrow escape. A Banda man of the 2nd cavalry was also grazed on the jaw by a bullet, either on the 9th or 10th. The fire of the enemy from their guns was very slack from the 9th to the 10th; on some days, a few round shot being fired against the fort, and on others none at all. On the 11th, Lieutenant Barnes, Bengal horse artillery, was struck by a bullet while looking over a parapet early in the morning; the ball entered above the nipple of the right breast, and was cut out of the armpit. This day the cavalry made a diver-

sion, coming into Nixongunge, and cutting up some dozen or so of the enemy there, and drawing the enemy out of the intrenchments, under the fire of our 24-pounder, which let into them with round shot. The cavalry was the 6th troop, under Lieutenant Farquharson, with Lieutenant Stevenson (2nd Bombay Europeans), and Lieutenant Stapleton (1st Bengal light cavalry), as subalterns: the enemy came out in great force, and attempted to surround it with their cavalry. Some of the Odeypore troops, who accompanied our cavalry, had several of their number destroyed by the enemy. The loss of our cavalry was two men, and one or two slightly wounded. The plan of the enemy was to keep up a pretty smart matchlock fire in the early morning and in the evening; at mid-day they did not fire much—perhaps they were eating their dinners and sleeping. This fire was kept up from outhouses near the fortified square, and from the lines of circumvallation thrown up round the fort.

"Nov. 19th.—An attempt was made to batter one of the curtains. Some of the shots hit the curtain, some went over the fort altogether, and some fell inside; one of the last went into that partition of the fort in which the post-office was kept, and broke the table of Lieutenant Rose (25th Bombay native infantry), the postmaster, who, luckily, was not sitting at it. Their attempt at breaching having failed, the enemy seem to have determined to try to take the place by escalade: accordingly, on the 21st, between 4 and 5 A.M., they made the attempt in the dark; but the garrison were not to be caught napping, and beat them off, they leaving four ladders and a standard on the ground; the standard, a holy green Mussulman affair, was brought in by Teeka Sing and Mulam Khan, both of the 12th Bombay native infantry; the former was a havildar, and is to be promoted to a jemadarship; the latter is promoted from private to havildar.

"On the 22nd (early morning), it was found that the enemy had left the place *en route* for Mundesore: it has since been learnt that they met the Mhow column and lost their guns, and that numbers of them were slain. Lieutenant Brett, 2nd Bombay cavalry, and two of her majesty's 83rd, died of sickness during the siege. On the 22nd (evening) the cavalry returned to camp. There seems to be some confusion in the papers as to what defences the garrison of Neemuch were surrounded by during the

siege; to dispel which I give you the following explanation:—The fort of Neemuch is a common fortified square, about as large as a big serai. Outside this, and surrounding it, except on one side where a stream runs, at a distance of about 300 yards or so, on an average from the centre of the fort, run a succession of salient and re-entering angles of the parapet and *bouquette*, with a ditch on the outside. Of course, so vast a length of lines could only be kept by thousands, and were useless—worse than useless—to the small garrison of Neemuch, but very useful to the enemy, who occupied them on the first day, and kept on firing from them every day that they remained in Neemuch. It is said that these lines were made at the suggestion, or requisition, or order, and some say at the expense, of one of General Lawrence's assistant politicals, who is officiating political agent, Mewar; and they were commonly called after him, 'Showers' ditch.' They are now being levelled, and may be considered as of the past."

The departure of the rebel force from Neemuch had not been commanded before it was wanted; although the accession of its numbers was unavailing in the contest before it. On the morning of the 8th of November, the Malwa contingent, under Major Timins and Lieutenant Mills, was attacked at Mehidpore by the Vellaitees, Rohillas, and Mokranees, aided by the *budmashes* of the city. The insurgents were led by the *amildar* (or native police officer of Mehidpore), and numbered between 4,000 and 5,000 men, armed with matchlocks, swords, and spears. The force opposed to this host consisted of 250 men of the contingent, with the two officers named; and after maintaining a gallant but unequal fight, from seven in the morning until three in the afternoon, the loyal troops were compelled to retire from the scene of contest with the loss of their guns. The Mussulmans of the contingent refused to obey their officers, and joined the enemy, who forthwith gratified their revenge by murdering several of the Europeans, among whom were Lieutenant Mills, Dr. Carey, and two sergeant-majors. They then plundered and set fire to the station. Major Timins escaped in the direction in which the Malwa field force, under Brigadier Stuart, was supposed to be advancing; but the fate of his lady and other Europeans at the station, remained for some time unknown. At length, on the

13th of the month, Mrs. Timins reached the English camp at Jehampore in safety, having been compelled to disguise herself in male attire, to escape the pursuit of the rebels. The following telegram, from Captain Mayne to the governor-general, announced the intelligence of the affair at Mehidpore:—

"Camp, Jehampore, Nov. 13th, 1857.

"Mehidpore was attacked by the rebel force from Bunnuggur at 8 A.M. on the 8th instant, they having first fired the station. The infantry and artillery of the contingent assembled near the artillery lines, and the guns opened on the rebels, who were under cover of the bungalows and their enclosures. The Mehidpore contingent infantry mostly behaved shamefully, refusing to attack when led on by their officers. The subahdar-major opened his jacket as the rebels approached, took out a green flag, and hoisted it. Only a portion of the artillery stood to their guns, and, at noon, the rebels advanced and took them. The contingent troops then fled, and their officers were forced to escape, escorted by a faithful band of the 2nd Gwalior cavalry. Lieutenant Mills is killed, and Dr. Carey reported to be so. Major Timins left his wife in the city of Mehidpore, and fled towards Oojein with Lieutenant Dysart, joining our camp at Bunnuggur on the 10th instant. That night, the Hyderabad contingent force, under the command of Major Orr, started for Mehidpore, parties of the 1st, 3rd, and 4th cavalry, going in advance; but on reaching that station, they found it evacuated, the rebels having taken with them two 12-pounders, four 9-pounders, and sixty cart-loads of ammunition and plunder."

On the morning of the 11th, the advanced body of cavalry, led by Captain Abbot, of the 1st regiment, reached Mehidpore, which they occupied without resistance, the rebels having evacuated it the previous day. On the 12th, he marched out with 337 of the 1st, 3rd, and 4th Hyderabad cavalry, and overtook the insurgents, to the number of about 500, with two guns, at Rawul, where they had resolved to make a stand. They were immediately attacked and dispersed, leaving a hundred dead upon the field, with two 9-pounder guns, and a large quantity of ordnance stores. In the pursuit that followed, the enemy abandoned three guns, which they had taken from Mehidpore, with two others of larger calibre, seized by them at Bunnuggur. Upon this occasion

the casualties were inconsiderable—one officer only being seriously wounded. Of the enemy, seventy-six prisoners were taken, who were tried by drum-head court-martial at Mehidpore, and shot for being in rebellion against the government. On the 12th, part of the force crossed the Chumbul, and encamped on the other side, two marches from Mundesore, near which some 8,000 rebels were reported to have taken up a position. The troops continued inactive until the 21st of the month, when the enemy, under Heera Sing, attacked the left front, but were driven back into Mundesore with heavy loss. The cavalry pursued the rebel commander and his escort into a fortified village about ten miles from Mundesore, on the Neemuch-road, where the main body of the rebel force appeared in strength, and displayed its standards. On the 23rd, Brigadier Stuart's main column came up, and marched in quest of the mutineers, with whom it at length met, drawn up in a strong position, having the village of Goorareea in their centre, and considerably outflanking, by their numbers and arrangement, the British force, whose artillery speedily silenced a battery of five guns, afterwards captured by a party of the 14th light dragoons. The enemy were then driven from their position with heavy loss; but a body of them took shelter in the village, and continued to hold it with great determination. While thus engaged in front, the garrison of Mundesore sallied out, and attacked the rear of the force, but were repulsed with loss by the rear-guard, which had been timely strengthened in anticipation of the attack. On the 25th, the rebels, dispirited by successive defeats, evacuated Mundesore during the night, and retired on Nagurh, in the direction of Rampoorah. By this movement, Neemuch was effectually relieved from any danger on the Mundesore side. Shortly after this fact was ascertained, the Malwa field force returned to Mhow, where Major-general Rose was appointed to the command, *vice* Brigadier Stuart.

The subjoined account of some of the movements of the force is interesting:—

‘Mhow, December 25th, 1857.

“The Malwa field force having returned hither, I purpose giving you a brief account of our journey from the time we left Mundesore. On the morning of the 2nd inst. we left that place, and arrived at Mehid-

pore about 8 A.M. on the 9th, where we found that the work of devastation had been carried to a fearful extent. Not a vestige of anything European was to be seen, except the smoke-blackened, ruined walls of those bungalows in which but recently our countrymen and their families happily dwelt. There were fearful traces of the recent battle fought between Orr's column and the Mehidpore mutineers, as well as the victory gained over the latter. Rambling amidst the ruins, I strayed into a mango-tope only a few paces from the main road, and there I counted fifty human skeletons; and a short distance from the residency, down a little valley, eighteen more. It was, I think, obvious to all of us, that, at the time we entered the place, a great number of rebels were still sheltered there; for on our approach, the native artillery lines were set fire to, as if to acquaint us with their presence and their unsated vengeance. It is quite clear the fire could not have arisen from spontaneous combustion; and had the inhabitants of Mehidpore—who now professed to be staunch friends to the government—desired to prove their loyalty, they could easily have apprehended the scoundrels who dared thus to mock British authority, especially as the rebels were declared to have fled some days previous to our arrival. On the following morning we marched *en route* to Oojein, and from thence to Indore, where we arrived on the morning of the 15th, all expecting to be called upon to demand from the native inhabitants a “settlement of accounts,” in atonement for the blood of not our countrymen, but our helpless countrywomen and children, who were brutally murdered by those accursed Indoreans, who are now, according to the statement of Colonel Durand, “satisfactorily” settled with, and are fondly petted by those to whom we have all along been looking up, with patience and anxious glances, for the word to march, and inflict upon such miscreants the punishment they so richly deserve.”

At this time, the natural excitement of the European troops against the native inhabitants of the towns that had revolted, still prevailed in an intense degree; and every instance of leniency shown to the latter, whether merited by exceptional circumstances, or not, was imperfectly understood, and became a source of disappointment and dissatisfaction to those who con-

sidered British soldiers in India only properly employed when carrying out measures of vengeance and retaliation.

Proceeding northward, we find treachery and rebellion trampled down by the iron heel of the authority that had been insulted in that direction; and the vigour and decision of Mr. Montgomery, judicial commissioner for the Punjab, as described in the following letter addressed officially to the commissioner of Sirsa, was considered as entitling the former gentleman to high and merited encomium, for the example he had afforded to others invested with similar powers.

"Lahore, November 7th, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of November 3rd, submitting the vernacular proceedings of the case of Noor Sunnund Khan, nawab of Runeea; and, in reply, to communicate the following remarks:—I gather from the proceedings, that on danger threatening the district of Sirsa in May last, the superintendent, Captain Robertson, summoned the nawab of Runeea (the prisoner in this case, and who with his family receive a pension from government of 5,760 rupees per annum), and directed him to raise a small force, horse and foot, for the protection of Sirsa; which he did, and a sum of money was advanced to meet the cost of maintaining them. The nawab was present in Sirsa, with his men, when the outbreak took place. There is evidence to show that the nawab and his men, instead of protecting the town, joined the plunderers, and that a portion of the plunder was sent to his house in carts; also, that he was proclaimed ruler of the country; and that, as such, he wrote a letter deprecating the conduct of certain parties who had made an inroad into *his* territory. Gohur Ali Khan, the uncle of the prisoner, was with him at the time, and has since been apprehended and hanged.

"The commission finds the prisoner, Nawab Noor Sunnund Khan, guilty of treason against the state, by having caused the king of Delhi to be proclaimed as king, and himself as ruler of the country, and passed sentence of death on him; but inasmuch as he does not seem to have been guilty of murder, and considering an example no longer necessary, the case is referred for my final orders. Of the nawab's guilt there can be no doubt. He, as also his ancestors, long enjoyed pensions, favour, and consideration from the British government. In-

stead, therefore, of aiding the local authorities, who reposed confidence in him, and whom he professed to serve, he joined the rebels with his adherents, and caused himself to be proclaimed ruler. Although murder is not actually proved to have been committed by himself, yet the city of Sirsa was entirely plundered and destroyed, as were also the government offices; treasure and property belonging to government carried off, and the prisoners released from gaol. A number of lives are known to have been sacrificed, of which there is no record. I consider it, therefore, imperative to make examples of such men as the nawab. The leaders must feel that vengeance will assuredly overtake them. Mercy, in this instance, would be weakness, and would encourage others to rebel hereafter. I, therefore, with the concurrence of the chief commissioner, sentence him, Noor Sunnund Khan, nawab of Runeea, to be hanged.

"The sentence is to be carried out without delay.—I have, &c.,

"R. MONTGOMERY, Judicial Commissioner."

Crossing from the north-west to almost the south-eastern extremity of Bengal, we find the town and district of Chittagong, which was ceded to the British in 1760, subjected, in November, to the usual consequences of a mutinous outbreak. On the night of the 18th of the month, some companies of the 34th regiment of native infantry rose upon their officers, whom, however, they did not harm. First plundering the treasury of about three lacs of rupees, they liberated the prisoners in the gaol, killing a burkandaze who resisted them; and then, having fired their cantonments, they blew up the magazine and left the town, taking with them three government elephants to carry their booty. Avoiding the main road to Tipperah, through fear of being intercepted at a ferry on the route, the mutineers hurried on the way towards Sylhet, where they halted for a short time to deliberate on their further proceedings; and being there reinforced by the accession of a number of armed vagabonds from the adjacent villages, they subsequently took the route to Mongapore, through the jungle, in order to avoid the chance of being intercepted.

The report of Captain Dewool, commanding the 34th regiment of native infantry at Chittagong, affords the following detail of this affair, which fortunately involved no loss of European life.

"Chittagong, November 24th, 1857.

"I have the honour to report, for the information of Major-general Sir J. Hearsey, K.C.B., commanding the presidency division, that, on the evening of Wednesday, the 18th instant, about nine o'clock, the detachment of the 34th regiment of native infantry mutinied, and instantly occupied the magazine with a strong body of men. Immediately upon hearing the noise from my house, which is quite close to the lines, I went to the parade in company with Lieutenant Hunter; but upon approaching the scene of disturbance, hearing the men very violent and loading their muskets, I directed that officer to retire, and went forward to the mutineers alone. I found a very strong guard in front of the magazine, who challenged me, and shouted out in a most violent tone, 'Don't care for him! Go away! you have no business here!' I advanced up to it, and did my best, with every argument I could use, to persuade the men to their duty; but a Mohammedan, who was in a native dress, and not in uniform like the rest, standing out in front, called out in a loud voice, 'The whole detachment is in a state of mutiny, and we have all determined to die if it is necessary. Go away!' This he said shaking his hand in my face, and using the most violent gestures. A shout was then raised, 'Shoot him! shoot him!' but a number of voices replied, 'No! no! don't hurt the captain.' Taking encouragement from this, and thinking I might have some men who would stand by me, I again endeavoured, by every persuasion, to bring the men to a sense of their duty, and appealed to several sepoys by name, who had previously borne a good character, to think what they were about, and to remain faithful to their salt; but they all replied that they had joined the mutineers, and that it was not their intention to withdraw. A shout was again raised, 'Shoot him! shoot him!' which was again negatived; and at the same moment two or three sepoys, with their muskets at the charge, came at me. Not liking this demonstration, I stepped back a few paces, and got out of the crowd, which was gradually getting round me; a Sikh of No. 4 company then came up, and giving me a rough push, said, 'Go away from this (*Hum suh log bigger gya*).' Not a single native commissioned or non-commissioned officer, or Sikh, remained by me; and seeing nothing could be done, I went to the quarters of Lieutenant Hunter,

close by, and found that officer with Lieutenant Thomson, walking in the verandah; I told them hastily what had occurred, upon which they armed themselves and immediately went away. I then went to every house in the cantonment, to give warning to the residents, but most of them had already taken alarm and fled. Ultimately joining the civil surgeon's family, who live at the extreme end of the cantonment, in their company I sought to make my own escape; but by this time the parade and all the road around were covered with mutineers, so that we were only able to reach the next house, where we were detained for about two hours; we afterwards disguised ourselves as natives, and, under the guidance of the collector's bearers, proceeded by a jungle path to the banks of the river, when with difficulty we got a boat, and dropped down to the Kortabeea lighthouse, from whence we returned yesterday.

"I have to state that the mutineers plundered the treasury most completely, and in doing so killed a burkandaze. They also broke open the gaol, and forced the prisoners to go with them to carry the treasure; and afterwards returned to the cantonments, and blew up the magazine and burned down the lines. I am happy to say that none of the European residents have been personally injured, and that, with the exception of a horse or two which were taken away to carry their baggage, the mutineers have left all private property untouched.

"I have been informed by a native named Thakoor Bux, formerly a jemadar of the Chittagong provincial battalion, whom the mutineers forced to go some distance with them, that the pay-havildar of No. 4 company, named Rujub Ali Khan, has assumed command of the detachment, which, we hear, has crossed the Fenny river, and entered the territories of the rajah of Tipperah.

"I took the opportunity while at Kootuhdeen, to write to the commissioner of Arracan, reporting the mutiny, and requesting him to send a copy of my letter for the information of the general commanding, which I hope has been done.—I have, &c.,

"P.H.K. DEWOOL, Captain, commanding
34th Regiment Native Infantry.

"P.S.—Lieutenants Hunter and Thomson are in safety."

Intelligence of the outbreak at Chittagong reached Dacca, a military station of secondary importance, but the capital of a

district of Bengal, situated on a branch of the Brahmaputra, called the Booree Gunga, or Old Ganges, at a few miles distant from the scene of disorder. Upon the arrival of the messenger from Chittagong, at 10 P.M., the authorities assembled, and resolved, by way of prevention, to disarm the sepoy of the 11th native infantry, in garrison there, amounting to about 260 men. To effect this, they had no other military force than a small corps of volunteers, which had been for some weeks in training for active service, and a few sailors collected under the command of Lieutenant Lewis; the whole amounting together to about ninety Europeans. The volunteers were ordered to march at once to the collectorate, to watch the guard there, while the process of disarming it was carried out. A little before 5 A.M., the sailors, with two mountain howitzers, under the command of Lieutenant Lewis, proceeded to the collectorate, and disarmed the guard there, without meeting with any attempt at resistance. The executive officers' guard was soon after marched in without arms by Lieutenant Rhynd, and the whole were placed in charge of the volunteers. Soon after some very heavy firing was heard in the direction of the Lall Bagh, a fortified barrack; and an alarm was given that the men stationed there were escaping from it by windows in the rear. The sailors were immediately marched off for the Lall Bagh, situated a mile and a-half to the westward of the treasury, detaching on their way a party to disarm the commissariat guard. On approaching the Lall Bagh, Lieutenant M'Mullin, with two sailors, went forward to communicate with the officers in charge; but they were fired upon, and compelled to retire to the main body, which deployed into line, and advanced. Immediately on this movement being observed, a severe fire of grape was opened upon them, in front and flank, from the barracks, which, having lattice-work verandahs, afforded shelter to those who fired, as loopholes would have done. Lieutenant Lewis, upon this, left his howitzers, and with two or three gentlemen, who acted as riflemen, wheeled his men right-shoulders-forward, and gave the order to charge up the face of a mound, in front of the building on which some of the mutineers had posted themselves. This assault was made in gallant style, but not without the loss of several brave men. The mutineers then fled into the barracks, and were driven from

building to building, along the whole length of the enclosure; and in the course of the struggle, a gallant charge was made upon the guns, which were taken; and the sepoy then fled by every possible outlet from the place. During the conflict, Dr. Green, the military surgeon, was shot through the leg, and seriously injured, while attending the wounded at the hospital. The Rev. Mr. Winchester, a resident, distinguished himself in the midst of the fire, by assisting to carry the wounded from the field to the hospital. The people of the town behaved remarkably well, and, with cheers, assisted to drag the captured guns and tumbril to the collectorate, and seemed to look on with admiration when the sailors, having made a prize of the drum and fife belonging to the sepoy, marched back to their barracks, playing the "British Grenadiers." In this short but spirited affair, there were engaged about ninety Europeans against 260 native soldiers, having among them twenty-six golundauzes; the whole of the mutineers being fully prepared for the struggle whenever it might happen—the pouches of many of them being found to contain sixty rounds of ball cartridge, besides a number of the latter concealed in their beds and other places. Of the Europeans, one was killed, and eighteen wounded—three mortally.

The subjoined report from Lieutenant Dowell, R.A., commanding at Dacca, furnishes the official account of the occurrence at that place.

"Dacca, November 22nd, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour to inform you that, in consequence of intelligence received by express at 5 P.M. last evening, from Mr. Metcalfe, judge of Tipperah, that the three companies of the 34th native infantry stationed at Chittagong, had mutinied, plundered the treasury, let loose the prisoners, and were supposed to be making towards this station, a meeting, composed of C. T. Davidson, Esq., commissioner of the district; C. F. Carnac, Esq., magistrate; Lieutenant Lewis, Indian navy, commanding detachment of European seamen, and myself, was immediately convened; at which it was unanimously agreed that the detachments 2nd company 9th battalion artillery, and 73rd regiment of native infantry (strength as per margin*), should be disarmed at day-

* Artillery—1 havildar, 3 naiks, 22 privates. Detachment 73rd regiment native infantry—1 subahdar, 2 jemadars, 12 havildars, 8 naiks, 4 drummers, 201 sepoy.

break this morning. Consequently, at 5 A.M., Lieutenant Lewis, Indian navy, commanding detachment of European seamen, proceeded to the treasury, and disarmed that guard; detaching at the same time a section, under the command of Mr. Connor, Indian navy, to my quarters, for the purpose of disarming the executive officers' guard: this being accomplished, we joined the main body and proceeded to the lines, disarming the commissariat guard *en route*. On our arrival at the Lall Bagh, Lieutenant C. N. McMullin, commanding detachment of 73rd regiment of native infantry, and myself, entered, followed by Lieutenant Lewis's detachment: immediately a shot was fired at Lieutenant C. N. McMullin, followed by a heavy fire of musketry from the magazine, barracks, and other buildings.

"Lieutenant Lewis, Indian navy, commanding detachment of European seamen, formed line, fired a volley, and charged; after which, the sepoy fell back upon their 6-pounder guns, which were taken and spiked; and the sepoy were entirely routed and dispersed. The only assistance I was able to give, was to assist Mr. Connor with his mountain howitzers, one of which he kindly made over to me, and I worked it until the end. Dr. W. A. Green, civil surgeon (who accompanied us as medical officer, in the absence of Dr. A. V. Best, who is very ill), is, I regret to say, severely wounded by a musket-ball through the thigh. As far as I am at present able to discover, forty of the sepoy were killed during the engagement, which lasted a little more than half-an-hour. The treasure, and nearly all the ammunition, and a great number of muskets, are in our possession; those who escaped, only carrying off what they had in pouch.

"A statement of arms, accoutrements, ammunition, &c., missing, will be forwarded to the military auditor-general without delay. Of the whole detachment, we have only fifteen remaining, six of whom are in hospital.—I have, &c.,

"WALLIS DOWELL, Lieutenant, Artillery, commanding at Dacca."

On the expulsion of the mutineers from Dacca, a considerable number of them directed their steps towards Jelpigoree, at a few miles' distance, where the head-quarters of their regiment was stationed. Intelligence of their approach quickly reached the place; and to avert the threatened danger, a detachment of the 73rd regiment, and some

troopers of the 11th regiment of irregular cavalry, were ordered out to meet and disperse the rebels, whose advance had been hitherto unimpeded; for so thoroughly was that part of India denuded of British troops, that there were none to repel them; and many villages were plundered on their way. The troops sent out to arrest their progress marched away cheerfully, and apparently determined in their loyalty—having actually assisted in arming some Ghoorkas to aid in protecting the station. An officer of the 73rd, writing from Jelpigoree on the 3rd of December, says—"Our men have sworn to their native officers (not to us) that they will do their duty; and our spies, who have hitherto proved so trustworthily, declare that we may fully depend on the regiment. Yesterday the test commenced by our ordering accoutrements and ammunition to be served out to 200 Ghoorkas. This was done cheerfully, and is a very good indication of the prevailing feeling. A strange scene it was, while watching the sepoy doling out ammunition to Ghoorkas to fight against their own (the sepoy) comrades, and it did one's heart good to see it."

The men of the 73rd and 11th had no sooner quitted the station, than murmurs of discontent were heard among some troopers of the latter regiment, who evidently sympathised with their comrades of the Dacca garrison. The annoyance, however, passed off without an outbreak; but on the 5th of December, the whole of the remaining men of the 11th, about fifty in number, with a rissaldar at their head, quietly deserted, taking with them their horses, arms, and ammunition. The fact was reported to the adjutant-general of the presidency division, by Colonel Sherer, in command of the 73rd regiment, in the following despatch:—

"Jelpigoree, Dec. 5th, 1857, 11.30 P.M.

"Sir,—I have the honour to report, for the information of the major-general commanding the division, that intelligence received yesterday induced me to call in the Europeans and Ghoorka sappers from Punbolaree. I expect them by 3 P.M. to-day.

"The rebels are now reported to be making their way here, *via* Kooch Behar, on the opposite side of the Teesta. The Europeans will join the force at Madargunge: the Ghoorkas remain here.

"After hearing that the Europeans were coming, the 4th troop 11th irregular cavalry went off with their horses, arms, and accoutrements. This occurred at 2 A.M.

to-day. The cavalry lines being some distance from the infantry, the departure of the cavalry was neither heard nor noticed; and I did not become aware of the fact till two hours had elapsed, so that pursuit was out of the question. The 73rd regiment are behaving admirably.—I have, &c.,

“G. M. SHERER, Colonel, commanding
73rd Native Infantry.”

In reference to this affair, a letter from an officer of the force called in, dated “Jelpigoree, 11th December,” says—“Here we are encamped in the huts of the 11th irregular cavalry, after a tedious march of forty miles in eighteen hours. We left Darjeeling on the 1st, and arrived here on the morning of the 6th. The cavalry who were stationed here bolted the night previous to our arrival, and are dispersed amongst the neighbouring villages, about eight miles from hence. Our men and the Ghoorkas are quite savage at not getting *tête-à-tête* with them. However, we shall march to-morrow to Madargunge, about five miles south-east of this, where we hope to encounter the Dacca and Chittagong mutineers, and shall endeavour to give a good account of them. At five o'clock this evening, our force of 93 Europeans, 130 Ghoorkas, and the 73rd native infantry, were drawn up on the plain facing the river, to witness the execution of two of the 11th irregulars, who were caught yesterday. Our little detachment marched to the spot, and took up a position in open column; our right (the Europeans) rested on the river; the 73rd were also in open column, their right flank facing our centre, and their front the river. After the prisoners were brought forward, the sentence was read to them, and they were then marched up, and lashed to the guns. At this moment, one was perfectly composed, and apparently unconcerned at the terrible preparations before him; the other was little better than half dead already. Among the native troops and the native bystanders, much subdued excitement was visible for a few minutes; but it was put an end to by an officer advancing to the front, and giving the word ‘Fire!’ On went the portfires, and away went the mutilated fragments of what, a moment previous, had been two living men. The scene was appalling for the time; but after a short pause, as if to give time for meditation to the native troops on the ground, we marched off to our huts, and the 73rd to their lines, their band playing the ‘Wanderer.’ The scene was pic-

turesque, although, perhaps, somewhat unpleasant to many, as the plain was covered with spectators, nearly all of whom were natives.”

As it could not be permitted that a body of deserters and rebels from Dacca should remain within marching distance of a British force with impunity, two officers were dispatched to their supposed locality, for the purpose of reconnoitring the position really occupied by them; and, upon their return, a party, consisting of fifty Europeans and forty Ghoorkas, were sent from Jelpigoree on the 11th of December, to dislodge them. After a march of twenty-five miles, through a country intersected by innumerable nullahs, the little force arrived at the place indicated by the reconnoitring party shortly after daybreak, and, to their utter amazement, found the enemy in a position so formidable and so peculiarly situated, that, with a mere handful of men, a successful attack was out of the question. The spot occupied by the rebel force, which consisted of 150 sepoys and about the same number of armed budmashes and Bootan people, was protected in front by three large nullahs, two having three feet of water, with shifting sands, and the third and largest unfordable, with a bank from fifteen to twenty feet high, which was lined by the rebels, and afforded them magnificent cover. Their left wing was also protected by nullahs, and their right by a field of thick, long grass; while a dense jungle covered their rear. The troops having reached the vicinity of the rebel camp, emerged from the long grass through which their path had been taken, and crossed the first nullah without noise; but having passed this, and reached the bank of the second, they found themselves in a disagreeable predicament, as every step forward sent them knee-deep into the shifting sand forming the bed of the nullah. They, however, struggled onward; but had the rebels taken advantage of the unexpected difficulty, not a man could have escaped their shot. Having reached the other side, while forming into line preparatory to an attack, a terrific fire was opened upon them from the opposite side of the third nullah; and, after returning a volley, the force was compelled to seek cover under a sand-bank, from whence they fired as opportunity offered. In this somewhat inglorious position the troops remained for about a quarter of an hour; by which time, the remaining nullah between them and the enemy was discovered to be

unfordable, and the order was given to retire. Upon the retreat becoming known to the rebels, their courage and spirits became extravagantly exuberant; they fired volley after volley, laughed, danced, and hooted the retiring force, until the men were half mad with rage and vexation. They, however, obeyed orders, and again reached the long grass, having sustained no other casualty than four rank and file wounded by spent shot. The troops returned to Jelpigoree the same night, quite knocked-up with their fruitless march of eighty miles in twenty-three hours.

A letter from Soodharam, in East Bengal, of the 7th of December, referred to a party of the Chittagong rebels in the following terms:—"Certain intelligence has at last reached this, that the Chittagong mutineers have passed Cornillah and Angertollah, and may by this time have gone beyond Sylhet. They have been precipitate in their flight, and have committed but little damage on their way. It appears that the fellows spent very freely the money they carried away from the collectorate of Chittagong; and several of them who carried the treasure contrived to separate themselves from their companions on the way, and went off with bags of the stolen money. The fact became known in consequence of the police apprehending all stragglers; and money, to the amount of five or six thousand rupees, was thus recovered and accounted for. The inhabitants of Cornillah were seized with panic, which lasted several days; during which, the wealthy classes removed with their families to more secure localities. The magistrate, collector, and judge, were the only persons among us who did not show any signs of fear, and continued to hold their courts as usual with a few amlahs."—At Tirhoot,

* This individual, who has long attained an historical celebrity in this country as the "Nepalese Ambassador," of jewelled memory, was a nephew of a former prime minister of Nepal, whose death paved the way for the exaltation of his young relative; the latter, under his uncle's successor, becoming commander-in-chief of the army, and, in due time, possessing himself of almost sovereign authority. His visit to, and reception in, this country, greatly strengthened his position in his own; and shortly after his return home, he caused a marriage to be concluded between his daughter, then six years old, and the heir-apparent to the Nepalese throne, then in his ninth year. When the revolt broke out in British India, Jung Bahadoor exercised paramount authority in Nepal, and took every opportunity to evince his friendly disposition towards the English,

about the same date, some apprehension was entertained of danger from Jelpigoree; but as the division of the 73rd regiment there had a large proportion of the hill tribes in its ranks, and had hitherto acted loyally, the alarm subsided before any serious inconvenience resulted from it. The districts of Chittagong and Dacca were shortly afterwards well supplied with troops for their protection, and confidence was restored among all classes of the inhabitants, who, for a time, were left in the enjoyment of tranquillity.

The arrival of Jung Bahadoor, prime minister and commander-in-chief of Nepal,* with a large force of Ghoorkas, intended to co-operate with the British troops in the restoration of order, was announced in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 19th of December, in the following terms:—"General Order of the Bengal Government.

"The maharajah, Jung Bahadoor, prime minister and commander-in-chief of Nepal, will shortly enter the plains of Hindostan, at the head of a large force destined to co-operate with the British troops in the restoration of order in the British provinces.

"The right honourable the governor-general in council directs, that the civil and military authorities of the principal stations through which his excellency may pass, shall unite in paying to his excellency the honour and attention which are due to his exalted station.

"At every principal military station, post, and camp, a salute of seventeen guns will be fired in honour of the maharajah, Jung Bahadoor; a salute of thirteen guns in honour of the maharajah's second in command, General Runodeep Sing; and salutes of eleven guns each in honour of Generals Bukht Jung and Khurg Baha-

by acts of kindness and protection towards such of them as were compelled to seek shelter within his territory, of which the following instance (among others) may be cited in proof:—About the middle of June, 1857, fifteen Europeans (seven gentlemen, three ladies, and five children) escaped from the Oude mutineers into the jungle region of Nepal, and sought refuge in a post station, or serai, about ten days' journey from Goruckpore, and eighteen from Khatmandoo. The officer at the latter place reported the occurrence, and asked for instructions, when he speedily received the following reply:—"Treat them with every kindness; give them elephants, &c., and escort them safely to Goruckpore." The place indicated was at the time in the possession of the English, and was also the nearest dāk station to the Nepalese territory.

door, commanding divisions in the Nepalese force.

"The maharajah, Jung Bahadoor, will be accompanied by Brigadier-general Macgregor, C.B., in the capacities of military commissioner and governor-general's agent; and all civil authorities in the districts through which the Nepalese camp may pass, are hereby required to give immediate attention to all requisitions which may be addressed to them by that officer."

The rumour of proffered assistance from Nepal,* was at first received with some degree of incredulity, inasmuch as it had become known, that an offer of troops, which had been made by Jung Bahadoor at an early period of the rebellion, had been somewhat curtly declined. In that instance, the proposition from Nepal was to place three bodies, of 1,000 men each, at the service of the Anglo-Indian government—one party to act in Oude, and the other two in the Lower Provinces; but as such disposition of the force would have had the effect of isolating them upon their respective fields of action, and a very natural suspicion existed as to the fealty of any native sovereign whatever, it was deemed prudent to decline the offer. At a later period, Jung Bahadoor renewed his friendly proposition—this time extending the number of troops to 10,000 for service in Oude; and his offer was accepted. The fact had no sooner become known through the official announcement above quoted, than curiosity was actively employed in efforts to discover the price at which the extraordinary and, under the circumstances, unexpected aid would be furnished. Various surmises were broached upon the subject; and, among others, the restoration to Nepal of the Oude Terai—a district on its southern frontier, consisting of a strip of

swampy forest-land, thirty miles broad, lying between the plains and the hills, which had formerly been ceded to the British government—was suggested; the value of the equivalent being somewhat awkwardly depreciated by the *Calcutta* press, which described the territory as of no earthly use to the English, and therefore as very proper to be ceded in return for valuable assistance in a time of need!

By another authority (probably self-constituted), it was announced that Jung Bahadoor had applied to the government for the grant of a tract of land in the northern part of the Oude district, with the right and title of prince, "protected" by the British government. His highness, it was said, was well aware that his present exalted position, won as it had been by sheer energy and indomitable strength of character, was, at best, a precarious one, especially in a court like that of Khatmandoo—famous for intrigues of unusual cunning and hardihood; and he felt, that were he the ruler, recognised as an ally by the British government, of ever so small a principality, even though it was but a strip of *terai*, trans-Gogra, it would give him such status and position among his unscrupulous adversaries round the throne of Nepal, as would render him safe from their machinations, and permanently secure to him the influence he had already acquired in the government of that country.

However the question of remuneration for service in the field might be disposed of, it is certain that the stout hearts and sharp kookrees of Jung Bahadoor's Ghoorkas very soon found opportunity to prove their mettle upon the enemy of their friend and ally. Upon emerging from the mountain passes that form the southern boundary of Nepal, the maharajah, Jung Bahadoor,

* Nepal is about equal in extent to England, and is one of the few remaining independent states of Northern India; comprising the southern slopes of the Himalaya mountain chain, which forms its northern boundary; having on the west and south sides the British territories of Behar and Oude, and, on the east, Kumaon. The region is distinguished by its giant mountains, which separate it from Thibet; by the dense forest jungle of the Terai, on the Oude frontier; and by a beautiful valley, in which the capital, Khatmandoo, is situated, and which is covered with flourishing towns and villages, luxuriant fields and picturesque streams. The climate of Nepal is temperate and healthy. The inhabitants, about two millions in number, comprise Ghoorkas, Newars, Bhotias, Dhanwars, and Mhanjees; but the Ghoorkas are the dominant race. The Newars are the

aborigines of Nepal, and are the artisans of the kingdom; while the Ghoorkas are hardy soldiers: the other three tribes are chiefly cultivators of the soil. In the latter half of the last century, Nepal was for a short time a dependency of the Chinese empire; but a treaty of commerce with the Anglo-Indian government, in 1782, enabled it to throw off Chinese supremacy, and establish its own independence. In 1812, the East India Company made war upon Nepal, and narrowly escaped ignominious defeat. A peace ensued, which lasted until 1816, when another rupture occurred. After a short but severe struggle, in which the soldierlike qualities of the Ghoorkas were established, a treaty of amity succeeded, which had not since been violated. A great portion of the transit trade between Cashmere and the Chinese empire, passes through Nepal.

with his 10,000 Ghoorkas, composed of fourteen regiments of infantry, and four batteries of artillery of six guns each, reached Segowlie—a frontier town in the British dominions—on the morning of the 21st of December; and the chief was there received by the authorities assembled for the purpose, with great demonstrations of respect. The same day the troops were reviewed; and, on the following morning, a brigade marched for Bettiah, and another for Govindgunge. On the 23rd, the maharajah and the British officers in his suite, followed the troops to Bettiah, where they halted while carriages were collected for their further progress.

On the 30th of the month, the baggage of the Ghoorka force having all been conveyed across the Gundah, the army marched from the right bank of that river to Bimnowlee factory on the following day. On the 1st of January, 1858, the force reached Gobernath; and, on the 2nd, arrived at Purown—town of some importance in the Bengal presidency; where a lithographed proclamation of Mahomed Hossein's was found attached to the Tehseeldaree, which notified to the world at large, that his Nuseeb had risen higher than the stars, and called upon all men to assist him in the extermination of the Feringhees. Four burkandazes were tried at this place for having taken service under Mahomed Hossein, and three of them atoned for their crime by death. On the 3rd, the force marched to Ramkotah, the zemindar of which had been acting under the orders of Mahomed; and had his house burned down as a mark of disapproval of his conduct. His personal safety had been secured by a timely flight. Continuing their route, the Ghoorka force moved on towards Precpraich, on the road to Goruckpore—the capital of a district in the presidency of Bengal, adjoining the Nepaulese dominions, and about 150 miles N.W.N. of Patna. The town, which is situated on the Raptee, had been for some time in the hands of a rebel force from Fyzabad; and, from its position in reference to the stations at

Azimgurh, Jounpore, and other important places, its early recovery from the insurgents was desirable.

It should be observed, that previous to the advance of the Ghoorka force, Jung Bahadoor had stipulated, that a European officer should be attached to each of his regiments; and, accordingly, a number of officers of all arms, with General Macgregor at their head, were ordered from Calcutta to join the Nepaulese troops. A description of the chief and his army was given in a letter from one of these officers, in the following terms:—

"Yesterday, we went to see the maharajah in full durbar. He is a very fine fellow, and made a most favourable impression on us all. He was magnificently dressed; but, at the same time, in the very best taste.* He is accompanied by two of his brothers; one of them second in command, and the other without any specific appointment. The army, which consists of about 11,000 men, is formed into divisions, commanded by the Jung's half-brothers. Indeed, half the durbar was composed of his blood relations. After the durbar, which did not last half-an-hour, we went out to look at the troops. They were drawn up in lines of regiments one behind the other, the best, of course, in front; but we were very agreeably surprised, both as to their state of discipline, *physique*, and equipment. They marched as steadily as any troops I ever saw. The double march was singularly steady; and they formed column, square, and deployed, and passed in review in a most soldierlike and steady manner. Far from realising our preconceived notions of Ghoorka diminutiveness, they, at any rate in the crack corps, were giants; and even those in the non-selected regiments were very much larger than in our Ghoorka battalions. I inquired about their composition; and General Rumheer Sing, the second in command, informed me that, with the exception of seventeen, they were all pure Ghoorkas.† The Jung is most anxious to get at the enemy."

At length, on the morning of the 6th of

* Another correspondent with the army afterwards writes upon this subject as follows:—"Jung Bahadoor's dress was most magnificent. The first day he wore the skin of a wild animal for a coat, richly trimmed with head-bands of pure gold; his girdle was of the same, studded with precious stones; his trousers of fine cloth of gold. As for his turban, it was really magnificent; first there was a row of rubies all round it, then emeralds; and a broad plate of pure

large diamonds in front, with a large waving plume. Fancy, his entire dress was worth upwards of six lacs of rupees (£60,000.) His two younger brothers were with him, of course dressed as superbly, befitting their high rank in Nepal."

† These hardy soldiers are of Monghol origin, but smaller and darker than the real Chinese. They first became familiar to the British by their resolute soldierly qualities during our wars with Nepal; and

January, the maharajah, with his troops, set out from Preepraitch, about ten miles from Goruckpore, for the purpose of attacking the rebels at that place: the road was heavy and bad, running through thick jungle almost the entire way, and intersected by three nullahs. The force marched at 7 A.M., and, after proceeding about two miles, came upon the jungle, where it separated, one brigade taking ground to the right, and another to the left, for the purpose of turning the enemy's position near a broken bridge over a nullah in the centre of the wood. The movement had scarcely been completed before the centre column of the Ghoorkas came suddenly upon the rebel force strongly posted in the jungle. The Ghoorka guns at once opened fire, and for a time were vigorously replied to both by guns and musketry; but the conflict did not last; for, on the advance of the Ghoorka infantry, the rebels turned and fled, leaving behind them an iron gun, with limber and bullocks attached. From this moment, for about four miles through the jungle, it became a race for life between the enemy and their pursuers; but the former, spurred on by terror of the Ghoorkas, flew with extraordinary speed, strewing the road with their shoes, which they cast away to expedite their flight. On arriving at the bridge, which the rebels had only partially broken, a few sappers were brought to the front; and it was quickly rendered passable for the troops, who, shortly after crossing, came upon a body of rebel sowars, whom a few rounds sufficed to disperse. In this advance, the rapid and effective manner in which the guns were handled by the Ghoorkas, elicited the surprise and admiration of the European officers attached to the force; they having no limbers, were drawn by hand, the trail being supported on the shoulders of other men. After dispersing this body of cavalry the whole force reunited and advanced. Upon reaching the crest of a small eminence in front of Goruckpore, the enemy opened fire from a clump of trees, in direct line with the advancing column; but the Ghoorkas, having brought up their guns to the front, drove the enemy from his position, and then

although Hindoos by religion, they have little in common with Hindoos, as regards caste prejudices and exclusiveness; nor do they sympathise materially with the inhabitants of the plains of Hindostan. Being natives of a country of but limited wealth, they have, within the last few years, evinced a readiness to enter the military service of the Company as auxiliary troops; and, as such, have been incorporated

charged *en masse*. From this point it was a race into the station, the Ghoorkas cutting up the stragglers on the road with their kookrees. The intrenched position of the rebels had been abandoned by all but about a dozen men, who were instantly cut down; and the chase was continued through the town to the bank of the river, when a frightful slaughter commenced. A number of the rebels had succeeded in crossing by a ferry; and had they lined the opposite bank of the river, and kept up a fire upon the Ghoorkas, many, if not most of their party might have escaped with life; but *saue qui peut* was the order of the day with them, and they all fled in confusion; the consequence was, that, without order or combination, they became a mob, and were struck down in great numbers, boat-loads of them being shot, drowned, or cut to pieces, until the river was actually red with their blood.

"So continuous," says an eye-witness, "was the file-firing for upwards of an hour, that the maharajah thought the sepoys were making a stand: he became desperate with excitement; and those who were near him must have thought we were fighting another Inkermann. Altogether, though no passage of arms, it was a very respectable 'scrimmage;' we took six guns, and two things which we have called '*zumbooruks*,' for want of a better name, mounted on carriages; and two not mounted, besides a little 1-pounder brought in by the villagers."

The result of this action was the entire clearance of the Goruckpore district. The rebel leader, Mahomed Hossein, fled to Tanda, a town on the road to Fyzabad, in the vicinity of which he again collected his scattered forces. The Ghoorkas, for a few days, remained upon the field of their triumph while waiting for carriage.

A letter from Goruckpore, of the 12th of January, gave the following account of the state of affairs at that place:—"This town has now been almost a week in our possession, and matters are rapidly returning to their former state. New thanadars and tehseeldars are appointed; several of those who held post under the Nizam (as Mahomed Hossein is called by the natives) are

into a force called the Simoor and Kumaon Battalions, which upon several occasions in the early stages of the revolt, found opportunity to exhibit their earnestness in the cause of their European employers. The troops of which we are now treating, form a distinct body, employed on a special service, and commanded by its own chief, the Jung Bahadoor, who was assisted on the occasion by a staff of British officers.

being brought in for trial, and execution quickly follows. Already we see convicts clearing up the station, and no doubt the gaol will soon be again as well tenanted as it was in August last. No regard is shown to a man's former rank: all alike are made to do sweepers' work, so far as clearing up and removing rubbish goes. The church, which had been completely dismantled by the rebels (who had taken away or destroyed everything removable, and smashed the windows), has been cleansed, and the writing effaced from the walls; the civil offices are crowded with candidates for situations; and British authority, I am happy to learn, is being rapidly re-established over the district.

"We expect hourly the arrival, at Goruckpore, of that consummate villain Mushurruf Khan,* who was apprehended a few days since by the rane of Bustie, but was taken from her by a powerful zemindar of the same district, who is anxious to curry favour with the British government, now that it is again unmistakably in the ascendant. Ten men were hung the day after we arrived, and six on the following day; how many more since it is not easy to say, as the gallows was removed from the conspicuous spot it occupied in consequence of an intimation from the Nepaulese chief, that it was displeasing to him to see bodies hanging. Bustie, where the force will next move to, is about forty miles from this, and half-way to Fyzabad."

On the 22nd of January, the advanced brigade of Jung Bahadoor's force had reached Belwa Bagur on the Gogra, opposite to Fyzabad; and, with the brigades of General Franks and Colonel Rowcroft, formed a complete chain on the south and east of Oude, from Fyzabad to within twenty miles of Allahabad.

It should be observed, that early in December, the brigade under Colonel Rowcroft had moved up the country, in the direction

of Goruckpore, where, ultimately, he established communications with Jung Bahadoor, who sent him a reinforcement of 500 men; and with these, the marines, and naval brigade, the colonel considered it safe to advance against a body of the enemy encamped at Sohunpore, on the Little Gundah. With the accession mentioned, Colonel Rowcroft's whole strength only amounted to 1,100 men, of whom but 160 were Europeans; the enemy, on the other hand, mustered over 5,000 men, with a large train of artillery. Leaving his camp between Myrwa and Mujhowlee, in the Sarun district, the colonel, on the 26th of December, moved forward to attack the position held by the rebels, and, after a sharp encounter, succeeded in dislodging them, and driving them across the river. In the accomplishment of this result, the British commander was necessitated to change his front several times, to prevent the enemy from overlapping his flanks, and so gradually forcing him to retire without a chance of engaging under an accidental advantage of ground which he had secured. In the course of the war, there was scarcely another instance of an enemy so numerically superior, being forced to retreat before a force so weak, and with such small loss to the attacking party—Colonel Rowcroft having but four men wounded. By his masterly operations at Sohunpore, he forced the rebels out of the district of Sarun, crossed the Little Gundah, and effectually assisted the ulterior movements of the Ghoorka force. The following is the despatch of Colonel Rowcroft, to the secretary of government, in reference to this spirited affair:—

"Camp, Mujhowlee, on the river Chota Gundah, 25 miles west of Sewan, 28th Dec., 1857.

"I have the honour to report, for the information of the right honourable the governor-general, that the field force under my command received a reinforcement of the Gorucknath regiment of Ghoorkas (500 strong) on the morning of the 25th of Decem-

* This individual had formerly been sentenced to imprisonment for "budmashee," by Mr. Bird, the joint magistrate of Goruckpore. When the station was abandoned by the British, Mr. Bird alone remained at his post; but his efforts to maintain order were fruitless; the gaol was thrown open, and the prisoners liberated; and the first visitor Mr. Bird was honoured with from that undesirable locality, was Mushurruf Khan, who coolly walked into his house, and, sitting down upon a sofa, informed the magistrate that he had come to settle the little account they had between them. Mushurruf Khan was armed, and accompanied by a number of his gaol companions. Mr. Bird was alone, all police,

gaol-guard, and rajah followers having deserted him. After a tolerably long stay, the worthy Naib Nazim left the house, with a promise that he would repeat his visit before long; in the interim, however, Mr. Bird escaped from the place on an elephant, and got safely through the jungle to Chuprah. Upon the advance of Jung Bahadoor's force, he accompanied it as joint magistrate of the district; and upon the subsequent recapture of Mushurruf Khan, he had the satisfaction of hanging his uninvited visitor, whom he first had paraded in a cart through the streets of Goruckpore, where, during the five preceding months, he had been accustomed to ride about with a species of regal pomp.

ber, sent on to join me by forced marches from Segowlie, by his excellency Maharajah Jung Bahadur, and Mr. Samuells, the commissioner. It was represented to me strongly that they were too fatigued, foot-sore, and hungry, to march again that day, and that they had been without sleep for two nights. I therefore postponed for the day, though reluctantly, my arrangements to move and attack the rebels at Sohunpore, seven miles distant, and about midway between my intrenched camp at Myrwa and Mujhowlee. About half-past seven on the morning of the 26th of December, I marched from camp with the force,* leaving two companies (a hundred men) of Ghoorkas, and fifty matchlockmen of the Hutwa rajah's, for the protection of the camp; and of these, half a company and twenty matchlockmen to watch and secure the narrow causeway bridge over the river Jurhaee, less than half a mile in front of my camp. It was reported to me that the rebels were posted in the village of Sohunpore, and in two or three large topes (woods) close to it, on either side of the Mujhowlee-road, with a tank with high banks close in front of the village on the north, in which most of the sepoys, and three of their four guns, were posted. On arriving within little more than half a mile of the position of the rebels, I formed line, and took ground to the right, to turn their left flank, and act more easily on the tank. During this movement, the enemy pushed forward numerous skirmishers into the topes and cultivation, and opened fire of guns and musketry on our line. Our skirmishers, consisting of the marines, part of the naval brigade, and Sikhs, soon returned their fire, doing much execution among the enemy, especially the marines, with the Minié rifle. We also opened fire with our guns; and a few shells well thrown in two or three directions, checked the rebels for a time. I advanced the line a short distance, when the main body of the enemy rapidly moved to their right, to join a force previously in position—I strongly suspect, on our left; their aim apparently being to surround us with their numbers. I changed our front immediately to our left. During this time, a village on our left was steadily and gallantly held by Lieutenant Burlton (40th regiment native infantry), with the fifty Sikhs, and I sent two companies of the Ramdull regiment of Ghoorkas, to reinforce him in holding that post, and, if possible, to capture a gun firing on our left. Lieutenant Burlton reports that Subahdar Himkumal Bushnia (9th company Ramdull Ghoorkas) behaved very gallantly, constantly encouraging his men, and, in riding at one of the rebels who was attacking Lieutenant Burlton, inflicting, fortunately, only a cut through his turban and helmet, the subahdar was severely wounded by a tulwar-cut round the left hip, a Sikh then rushing up, cutting down, and killing the rebel. After changing ground to the left, I advanced the line towards the enemy, now and then allowing our guns to throw a shell or two. The enemy made a show of advancing a short distance, with about fifty sowars in their front. After advancing the line a short distance, two or three shells were beautifully pitched into the midst of this large body of foot and horsemen, at 900 or 1,000 yards distance, scattering

them in all directions. I am sorry there was no opportunity to allow of the Ghoorkas joining in a charge. The main body then moved rapidly to their left, as if to gain their old position in the topes and village. Our line was changed to the right. During the former advance and this movement, the rebel skirmishers were firing from heavy cover on us from our right and right rear. I ordered the marines to skirmish and cover our right, and two companies of the Gorucknath regiment, who were placed in reserve to cover our right rear. The line and skirmishers advanced, firing a few rounds from our guns into the topes, and in the direction of the tank. The rebels seem to have had only a rear-guard at this time left at Sohunpore. The skirmishers rapidly advanced into the topes, which we found quite clear of the enemy. Three tents of Baboo Koer Sing's nephew, Hurkishen Sing, were here found all pitched, and a quantity of grain, &c. I ordered the tents to be burned at once. We then moved to the right, to get on the Mujhowlee-road, and continued our advance without delay to Mujhowlee, some six miles distant. Within about two miles of Mujhowlee, we saw the rear of the rebels entering the place; and on nearing it, I ordered the marines, and part of the naval brigade, and four companies of the Gorucknath regiment, to push on rapidly after the Sikhs composing the advance guard, in the hope of capturing their guns, crossing the deep ford of the Gundah. I am happy to say one large iron 6-pounder gun, and limber complete, full of ammunition, was taken near the river. The Sikhs, and some men of the Gorucknath regiment, with Captain Koolpurshad Sing Bushnia, were among the first down at the river in capturing the gun. The cultivation was so heavy, and we advanced on so quickly, it was difficult to ascertain the number of the rebels killed. Two other tumbrils—one full of ammunition, the other of powder—and some carts, were also taken. The rebels, by all reports and appearances, were 1,100 or 1,200 sepoys, and between 4,000 and 5,000 other armed men. The Naib Nazim, Mushuruf Khan, was present in the action with his force, and also Ali Kureem, Moulvie of Patna, who was first reported to have been killed in the action, but now said to have got away the evening before. The governor-general will be pleased to learn, that this one day's work has completely cleared the district of this horde of marauding rebels, relieving the many villages of their plundering and oppression. The rajah of Mujhowlee and the people gladly welcomed us, as did other people on the road. The rajah states that the rebels made sure of surrounding and destroying us, as we were so few, and of being able to get into Chuprah, and to plunder the district. The rajah also states that, with the sepoys, matchlockmen, sword and spearmen, the rebels were more than 6,000 or 7,000 strong. I do not think the rebels had heard of the arrival of the second Ghoorka regiment on the 25th of December. I learn from the Mujhowlee rajah, and other reports, that there must have been some 120 of the rebels killed, by the number of bodies since seen in their positions in the field. Besides many wounded, a few rebels were killed at the ford, and six in one boat. I am happy to say we have had few casualties. The gun and basket-firing of the rebels was too high, their round shot and matchlock bullets mostly passing over our heads, one round shot killing a dhooly bearer and a villager in our rear. A Ghoorka private of the Gorucknath regiment was wounded by a musket-ball, and also

* Royal marines, 30; naval brigade, 130; Ramdull Ghoorka regiment, 500; Gorucknath ditto, 350 (one company of this regiment being at Sewan, and two in camp); four guns (12-pounder howitzers), two being mountain-train; Captain Rattray's Sikhs, 50.

one of the magistrate's sowars. It is a marvel none in the line were hit, for numbers of the round shot, &c., passed over or by us, tearing up the ground, and ricocheting, but without hitting any one. The action commenced about 10 A.M.; and by half-past 1 P.M. we had dispersed the rebels, and driven them through the types and village of Sohunpore, and had followed them up and driven them out of Mujhowlee, and over the river Gundah by 4 P.M. The troops had a hard day's work, and went through their fatigue most cheerfully. I was myself in the saddle for ten hours, or would have written to you earlier; but I wrote and reported our advance and successful attack, and complete operation, to Brigadier-general Macgregor, with Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, the same evening, express to Bettiah. We bivouacked for the night near the river, having marched without tents or baggage, except two or three tents for the men of the naval brigade, and a few hackeries for the ammunition, and to carry the Ghoorkas and Sikhs in case of accidents during the action.

"I marched again yesterday morning (27th December) with a detachment of the naval brigade, two guns, eight companies of Ghoorkas (400 men), and the Sikhs—crossed the river, and moved through Selimpore, and about two miles beyond, to the house of one Narain Dial Conengoe, formerly an assistant collector, who had been forward in marauding and giving aid to the rebels. His house was blown up, burnt, and destroyed. We also moved to another village, to the house of one Sungram Lall, the nephew and toomandar of the above, and destroyed his house; but neither of the villages was injured. We returned to camp at half-past 4 P.M.

"I need hardly say that the troops behaved, as British marines and seamen ever do, most excellently and gallantly: Captain Sotheby was ever ready and present with the guns, and to afford me every assistance in the field. Captain Sotheby has paid great attention to the drill and training of the naval brigade for land service, and in quickly training the horses and ponies for the guns—horses for the large 12-pounder guns, and ponies for the three others, and the seamen to ride and act as gunners; and, under Lieutenant Turner, R.N., in charge of the artillery, they have had constant drill and training, and are now ready and steady for field service, and were in the action of the 26th December.

"Major Captain Sree Bhuggut Khanks, commanding Ramdull regiment; Captain Dercedass Opu-diah, Ramdull regiment; Captain Koolpurshad Sing Bushnial, commanding Gorucknath regiment, and all the officers of the two Ghoorka regiments, were anxious and ready to render good service; and the men of both regiments were steady and willing in the field, and kept well to the front with the European force.

"I respectfully beg to recommend Captain Sotheby, R.N., of her majesty's steam-frigate *Pearl*, and all the civil, military, and naval officers, to the favourable notice of the right honourable the governor-general.

"I have reports that the rebels left their gun which played on our left behind them, in some well or jungle at Sohunpore, and also the two guns they are said to have crossed over the river, somewhere hidden beyond Selimpore. The rebels will feel the want of their guns and ordnance stores at Goruckpore, as they are said to be in want of ammunition.

"On the evening of the 26th, I dispatched a messenger to Myrwa to move on the camp and baggage,

which was carefully brought on to this place at 4 P.M. yesterday, under Lieutenant Hamilton, 8th regiment native infantry, doing duty with the naval brigade.

"I have ordered a bridge of boats to be got ready to cross the river to-morrow, to facilitate the movement over of the numerous hackeries, the only carriage we have; to be ready to move and act according to reports brought in, and probable orders from Brigadier-general Macgregor, and to co-operate with the maharajah's Nepaulese army.

"A few sepoys and rebels were brought in prisoners during yesterday. They will be duly and speedily disposed of. Proclamations have been sent out to the villagers to capture all rebels, and offering rewards.—I have, &c.—H. ROWCROFT, Colonel,

"Commanding Sarun Field Force."

Having at length put Cawnpore into an efficient state of defence, and restored discipline in the camp there, after the irregularities that followed the disastrous occurrences of the later days of November, the commander-in-chief appointed Brigadier Inglis (of Lucknow) to the command, *vice* General Windham, removed to Umballah; and on the 24th of December, Sir Colin Campbell, with a force of about 8,000 men, commenced his march towards Futteghur (the British cantonment of Furruckabad), proceeding by the Great Trunk-road. On the 28th of the month, his force reached Meerun-ki-Serai, where he opened communications with Colonel Seaton at Mynpoorie, through Lieutenant Hodson, of the irregular horse which bears his name; who, with a hundred of his men, made a rapid dash over ninety miles of country overrun with rebels; and having received the chief's orders for the advance of Colonel Seaton to Furruckabad, he galloped back to Mynpoorie, having narrowly escaped being crossed in his ride by the retreating troops and guns of the rajah of Etawah, who had been driven from that town by Seaton's column during his absence. In the meantime Sir Colin Campbell continued his advance along the Great Trunk-road, and, on the 29th, reached Jellalabad, a small village two marches from Futteghur, where a large body of matchlockmen, with several guns, appeared to dispute his further progress. Without a moment's delay the rebel force was saluted with a discharge of grape and round shot; and without an effort to maintain their position, the insurgents dispersed, leaving behind them eighteen pieces of cannon, besides a quantity of small arms which they threw away in their flight. On the 1st of the month of January, the head-quarters of the British force were

at the village of Goorsuhagunje, six miles beyond which the road crosses the Kalee Nuddee by a suspension-bridge, which the enemy had broken down, and had also taken the precaution to remove or destroy all the boats in the vicinity. A brigade was at once sent forward with the sappers to restore this means of communication, and by the morning of the 2nd, the bridge was nearly completed, when the repairing party was fired upon from a village on the opposite side of the river. Had the enemy ventured upon this interruption some two or three hours earlier, they might, from the nature of the ground on the other side of the stream, have caused very serious annoyance; but they fortunately delayed until the bridge was nearly completed. A heavy cannonade was instantly opened upon the village by the guns of the naval brigade, while the whole force was brought up; and the bridge being now finished, the men advanced across it, and deployed in front of the village. The rebels scarcely had time to look upon the British troops before they were swept from the position they had taken, and driven up the road towards Futteghur, for several miles, by the cavalry and horse artillery, losing six guns and a quantity of ammunition in their hasty flight. Encamping for the night at the twelfth milestone from Futteghur, Sir Colin marched upon that cantonment early on the morning of the 4th, and hopes ran high that before the close of that day many a treacherous murder would be avenged upon the very spot on which it had been perpetrated; but they were not realised. At three o'clock p.m., the advanced column reached the station, but no semblance of human existence was there to meet it—no sound was heard save the echoes of the footfall of the impatient band that thirsted for retribution. During the preceding night the rebel camp had broken up, and its recreant occupiers had fled from the station; two heavy guns stood ready shotted on the parade-ground; the intrenched camp was left all standing, filled with the furniture, carriages, and other property of the fugitive English residents, afterwards murdered on their passage down the Ganges by order of Nana Sahib.* All the enemy's guns, except two, which he had carried off, and a large quantity of stores and ammunition, fell into the hands of the disappointed soldiers upon this occasion. On the 5th, the

city of Furruckabad, three miles distant, was also taken possession of by Sir Colin Campbell, and, to the intense dissatisfaction of the troops under his command, without the slightest attempt at opposition, the whole of the rebel force having abandoned the place.

Fortunately, their retreat had been so precipitate, that they had not time to destroy the government property within the town; and thus Sir Colin found a large quantity of stores of the most valuable description, belonging to the gun and clothing departments, available for his immediate use. Having secured these important items of military property, the commander-in-chief sent a large stock of grain to Cawnpore, to assist the commissariat in supplying the troops of Sir James Outram at the Alumbagh. The nawab of Furruckabad had long been notorious as one of the most ferocious leaders of the insurgents, and the time had now arrived when punishment could no longer be evaded. In a telegram from the commander-in-chief at this time, it is stated—"The destruction of the nawab's palace is in progress. I think it right that not a stone should be left unturned in all the residences of the guilty chiefs. They are far more culpable than their misguided followers."

A letter from an officer attached to the force with Sir Colin Campbell, has the following details of the action of the 2nd of January, at the Kalee Nuddee, and of the advance to Futteghur on the following day. After describing the movements of the commander-in-chief on his way from Cawnpore, the writer says—"His course lay from Meerun-ki-Serai to Goorsuhagunje, where head-quarters were established on the 1st of January. A brigade was sent on to repair the suspension-bridge, fourteen miles from that place. They commenced work on the 1st, and, by the morning of the 2nd, had finished it all but one or two planks, which they were laying down when Sir Colin saw the villagers come out of the village opposite. He desired some one to go and tell them not to be afraid, as they would not be hurt, when all of a sudden off came a round shot from amongst them, which killed four men of the 53rd. The enemy were then discovered to be in force: the naval brigade opened on the village for about two hours, the enemy returning the fire with an 18-pounder and 9-pounder. The bridge was soon finished,

* See vol. i., p. 349.

and then Sir Colin with his force crossed, turned the enemy out of the village, and pursued them with cavalry and artillery for about eight miles. The naval rockets blew up a magazine of theirs very prettily, and knocked over a 9-pounder; this and another gun they left in the village. The cavalry captured four more—one an 18-pounder, and plenty of ammunition; in all, six guns that day. Our loss was Younghusband, of the Sikhs, shot through the lungs; and Maxwell, of the artillery, shot through the thigh. General Grant was slightly touched, and a spent ball hit Sir Colin on the stomach, but did not injure him; four men of the 53rd were killed, and six or seven of the 8th were also knocked over by a shell; no others wounded. They encamped at the twelfth milestone from here, and started again on the 3rd at 11 A.M. The cavalry, the night before, came upon a body of the rebels in the open, and cut them up in grand style. Fifty bodies were counted in a few fields—all sepoys. The force came near Futteghur about 3 P.M.; and, to their disgust, found the enemy had decamped during the night. They had an 18 and 24-pounder ready loaded, and were intrenched on the grand parade; also an intrenched camp outside the fort. They left all their guns but two, and ammunition, and merely made off with all the treasure, and two guns to protect it."

A letter from Futteghur, dated January 5th, stated, that, on the previous day, Nadir Khan, one of the individuals concerned in executing the orders of Nana Sahib for the murder of the European women at Cawnpore, was hanged in the midst of a great number of the native inhabitants, and that he died "calling upon the people of India to draw their swords and assert their independence, by the extermination of the English."

Another correspondent, at the camp of the commander-in-chief, says—"We arrived at Futteghur about 5 P.M. on the 3rd instant. We had a brush with the rebels on the way, and gave them a sound thrashing, killing about 200, and capturing seven guns—one of them a 32-pounder. The rebels bolted from Futteghur, leaving ten guns, a good deal of ammunition, and a vast quantity of miscellaneous plunder. They have gone across the Ganges into Oude, and, fools like, the panic-stricken wretches could not muster up courage enough to wait and blow up the bridge of boats, which, if they had

done, would have delayed us for a week at least, instead of leaving us, as now, at liberty to cross over at any moment we choose. The chief's force suffered much during the advance on Futteghur. The 'old man' was determined to push on, and all in camp were eager to carry out his ideas. Forced marches, and sometimes nothing for breakfast and dinner, were accordingly the order of the day. Add to this, lots of hard work, and bivouacking on the open plain, and you will be able to form something like an accurate idea of the march from Cawnpore. The rebels' camp at Futteghur was a curious sight. It had evidently been abandoned in haste, and in hot haste too. It was full of articles plundered from Europeans. For instance, ladies' boots and shoes, with portions of dress, and many articles of personal requirement among females and children, were strewn about all over the camp. The Pandies must have been in a great fright, which we shall, doubtless, increase before long. We care not how soon."

Previous to the flight of the rebels from Furruckabad, the nawab had fired a portion of the town, and allowed his retainers to plunder it. At one time he had evidently contemplated resistance, as heavy guns were mounted on the walls of his fort, and at other points which might have been troublesome to the advancing troops; but the rapid and complete discomfiture of his advanced post at the village near the Kalee Nuddee, assured him that his only chance of safety consisted in flight; and he fled accordingly, seeking an asylum in Oude, the precise quarter in which the commander-in-chief desired hereafter to meet with him.

Almost at the same time these events were in progress, Colonel Walpole, who had been dispatched from Cawnpore to clear Etawah with his column, encountered and defeated the enemy at a place called Akbarpore, where he captured a number of guns, and arrested twenty persons of Nana Sahib's immediate retinue, whom he tried for their complicity in that chief's atrocities, and immediately hung. From thence, marching by Mynpoorie, and clearing the country as he advanced, he at length joined the commander-in-chief at Futteghur.

On the 1st of February, Sir Colin Campbell broke up his camp at Futteghur, and commenced his return march to Cawnpore. Himself, with General Mansfield, and the officers of his staff, pushed on in advance of the army, escorted by the 9th lancers and

a troop of Bengal horse artillery, and, proceeding at the rate of twenty-five miles a-day, he arrived at Cawnpore on the 4th of the month. When at Soorajpore, their last halting-place before reaching the city, the commander-in-chief was informed that the arch-rebel and murderer, Nana Sahib, was on the opposite side of the river in Oude, with a small guard of Mahratta irregular infantry: there was, however, no means by which he could be reached; although, but for the intervention of the river, the traitor, and his handful of adherents, might have been surrounded, and their capture, living or dead, effected by the chief's escort.

The main body of troops at Futteghur followed the commander-in-chief with all speed; the 82nd regiment, with some Sikh cavalry and infantry, only remaining to protect the station. Walpole's brigade was withdrawn across the Ganges, from the right bank of the Ramgunge, on the farther side of which he had been watching a large but inactive body of Rohilcund rebels, and arrived at Cawnpore on the 10th and 11th. Hope's brigade, which, on the 26th of January, overthrew, with loss, a body of Mussulman fanatics at Shumsabad Mhow (twenty-five miles from Futteghur), reached Cawnpore on the 7th; and on the following day, the commander-in-chief departed by rail for Allahabad, at which city the governor-general had already arrived, for the purpose of consultation with him. The interview was important in its results, as unity of purpose was thereby secured between the two chief authorities in India; and, on the 12th, Sir Colin rejoined the army at Cawnpore.

Meanwhile, Jung Bahadoor, with his Ghoorkas, remained inactive before Fyzabad in eastern Oude, being unable to take the place for want of ammunition. Supplies were consequently ordered for him from Benares; and, pending their arrival at his camp, the march of Brigadier Franks, on the road from Jounpore by Sultanpore to Lucknow, was halted at Budlapore. Such were the respective positions, on the 7th of February, of the two auxiliary forces destined to aid the commander-in-chief in the reconquest of Oude.

Turning to the north-west of that territory, the great province of Rohilcund still continued a wide field of disorder and outrage, although, by the beginning of February, no less than five Sikh regiments of foot, with cavalry and guns, had moved down the roads

from Lahore, and were already within the boundary of the province. Before their arrival, however, a severe blow had been inflicted upon the rebels of Bareilly. Of these depredators, three large bodies were stationed at the following points, between Bareilly and the hills:—One party, under Fuze Huk, held the road to Peeleebheel, at a point fourteen miles from the bottom of the Nynce Tal hill; a second was at Rudapore, further to the west; and a third was in the centre, on the main Bareilly-road, twenty-four miles from the Nynce Tal hill, or rather from the camp at the foot of the hill, occupied by Colonel M'Causland, with the 66th Ghoorkas, some 500 Nepaulese and hill-men, with irregular horse, and four light guns; in all, about 1,200 men. With this little force, on the 10th of February, the colonel attacked the rebels on the Bareilly-road (commanded by Kalee Khan, who had advanced within thirteen miles of his camp), and utterly routed them, capturing three guns, and killing and wounding upwards of 500 of the rebel troops. His own loss, in killed and wounded, was thirty-five, including among the latter two officers of the 66th regiment. The action over, Colonel M'Causland prudently marched back to his camp, which was exposed to attack by the two other forces of the enemy, having, within twenty-four hours, traversed nearly thirty miles, and fought a pitched battle.

At this period all was quiet in the Punjab, from whence Sikh regiments moved down into Hindostan; while European ones came from Kurrachee to take their places. On the 4th of the month, Sir John Lawrence arrived at Loodiana with the 17th Punjab infantry, on his way to Delhi and Agra—the districts recently handed over to his superintendence; and from Mooltan the 7th fusiliers had arrived at Lahore, relieving the 81st regiment, which was thus free to reinforce the scanty garrison at Peshawur.

At the same time, a small Bombay force left Hyderabad, in Scinde, for Rajpootana, and arrived at Jeysulmeer, from which point it might be conveniently directed upon Joudpore, if necessary. The Rajpootanee force, under General Roberts, had also commenced its march from Nusseerabad to Kotah. In Malwa, the energies of the rebels appeared to be crushed; and the execution of the rajah of Amjhera, at Indore, had stricken a wholesome terror among the disaffected. The delinquent was

one of the first among the native chiefs to commence disturbance in his district; but was spared by Sir Robert Hamilton, the political commissioner, when his ministers were executed, upon the ground of imbecility—a plea that no longer availed him.

Further to the eastward, in Central India, Sir Hugh Rose and General Whitlock were pressing on, helping to reduce into an ever-narrowing circle, the yet smouldering fires of rebellion and anarchy. The first-named commander, after having relieved Saugor from the presence of the enemy, moved eastward against a strongly situated fort, called Gurratoka, about twenty-five miles from that place, supposed to be occupied by the remains of the mutinous 52nd Bengal native infantry. He proceeded to invest the fort, which, however, from its extent and situation, his force would have been perfectly inadequate to accomplish, when the occupants, seized with a panic, fled from the place. A party of cavalry and horse artillery, sent in pursuit, cut up nearly a hundred of the fugitives; and then, having demolished the defences of the fort, Sir Hugh moved with his brigade towards Jhansie, on which point his other column, with Captain Orr's force of the Hyderabad contingent, had already marched.

During these operations of Sir Hugh Rose, and pending the arrival at Jubbulpore of General Whitlock's force, a small Madras column, sent out from that station on the Great Deccan-road to the Ganges, had not been idle. Several rebel villages were destroyed; and an attack of the rebels in force upon the village of Sleemanabad, was gallantly repulsed by detachments of the 28th and 33rd Madras native infantry. Communications were also opened with Captain Osborne and the rajah of Rewah, by whom the fort of Bijrajooghur had been taken. The rajah of the place contrived to escape; but the *killadar* (commandant of the fort) and ninety-four other prisoners were taken. These men Captain Osborne hesitated to execute, doubting the temper of the Rewah men; and he accordingly sent the prisoners down the road to the Madrasces, by whom they were readily shot. General Whitlock's force was to leave Jubbulpore about the 15th of the month, and advance in two divisions—one along the great road to the Ganges, the other to Saugor by way of Dumoh.

The Calpee rebels, thus pressed upon in

the rear, had been twice compelled to measure swords with the British troops—once near Etawah, where 125 of them were destroyed in a walled enclosure, by a force under Mr. Hume, a collector; and the second time towards Cawnpore, where a detachment of the 88th regiment attacked a party of them which had crossed the Jumna, and utterly routed them, leaving eighty of their number lifeless on the field.

In the presidency of Bombay, since the occupation of Shorapore and the capture of its chief at Hyderabad, the Southern Mahratta country had remained tranquil; but, in the Sawnut Warree district, a state prisoner (one of the insurgents of 1844) having escaped from gaol, collected about 200 followers, and attacked a small treasury station of the government, at a place called Tullowan, defended only by a havildar and ten sepoy of the ghaut police. The little garrison, on being summoned to surrender the post, manfully refused to do so, and sustained and repulsed a series of attacks from the armed budmashes; which continued during four hours, and in which several daring efforts were made to fire the place over their heads. Failing in open assault, the rebels demanded a parley, through an influential man of the neighbouring village, and, during the conference, attempted a surprise, but were again foiled. At length they appeared to remember that the wives and children of the soldiers were in the village; these they immediately seized, and placing them in front of the position held by the loyal treasury guard, threatened indescribable atrocities if the place and treasure were not instantly surrendered to them. To their threats, and to the shrieks of the terrified captives, the brave men were alike deaf; and at length the assailants withdrew, taking with them the unfortunate women and children. Such were among the cruel incidents of the terrible war that still desolated homes, and destroyed families, throughout the wide and bloodstained provinces of Hindostan at the close of the first year of its duration.

Of the prospect of its speedy termination, expectations were various and sanguine, in the early part of the year 1858, even among those who, by position and circumstances, were naturally deemed well informed upon the subject. Of the confidence with which the entire and speedy suppression of the revolt was then asserted, the following passages, in a letter received by Lord

Elphinstone, the lieutenant-governor of Bombay, from an officer of distinction in the camp of the commander-in-chief, dated at Meerun-ki-Serai, on the 28th of December, may be instanced as one proof of the mistaken views entertained upon the subject, even by persons actually upon the scene of operations. The writer, referring to the revolt generally, says, "The neck of the business, all over the country, is broken;" and the whole tone of intelligence forwarded to Europe by the Indian mails of January, might be understood as expressed by those few but positive words. But it proceeded yet further to reassure and inspire all who were interested in the pacification of the country, and the personal safety of its European residents. "Now," said the letter, "that the overwhelming superiority of the British forces to those of the mutineers has been established by the series of brilliant exploits, that ended with the rout of the numerous, and well-appointed, and half-victorious Gwalior contingent, a desultory and comparatively feeble opposition is all that is likely to be encountered in our progress towards the

complete pacification of the country. The Doab, which for so many months was abandoned to rebel chiefs and lawless soldiery, has been swept clear of the enemy; Bithoor, Etawah, Mynpoorie, Futteghur, Furruckabad—all in our hands. Their petty rulers and landholders, if still at large, are at least fugitives in Rohileund or Oude, and their lands have passed from them for ever. The mutineers under Bahadoor Khan, at Bareilly, have next to be attacked; and here some resistance may be met with; but neither from them, nor from the hordes whom Sir James Outram is holding in check at the Alumbagh, and whose destruction will be the latest event of the insurrection, do we look to receive anything more than a momentary obstruction to the re-establishment of the benign and just rule of England."

Unfortunately for the accuracy of this prediction, Oude had yet to be conquered; and rivers of blood were yet to flow, before the blessings of peace could be again realised by the native populations of the greater portion of the Anglo-Indian empire, or safety be insured to its European residents.

CHAPTER IX.

BRITISH FORCE AT THE ALUMBAGH; THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AND SIR JAMES OUTRAM; ADVICE AND CAUTION; THE STAFF AT FAULT; THE REBEL TROOPS IN LUCKNOW; BATTLE OF GUILLEE; OFFICIAL DETAILS; ACTIONS OF THE 12TH AND 16TH OF JANUARY; REPULSE ON THE 21ST OF FEBRUARY; QUARREL BETWEEN THE DELHI AND OUDE SEPOYS IN THE CITY; ADVANCE OF THE REBEL FORCE ON THE 25TH OF FEBRUARY; THE BEGUM AND COURT IN THE FIELD; DEFEAT OF THE REBELS; STATE OF LUCKNOW; ADVANCE OF THE BRITISH FORCE UNDER THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF; THE ASSAULT; DEFEAT AND DISPERSION OF THE REBELS; FINAL OCCUPATION OF THE CITY.

It will be remembered, that when Sir Colin Campbell retired from Lucknow, in November, 1857, with the relieved garrison of the presidency, and the women and children whom he had rescued from destruction, he left Sir James Outram, with a strong division of British troops, to hold possession of Alumbagh, and form a nucleus for future operations in Oude.* The force selected by the commander-in-chief for this important service, consisted of two brigades of infantry, composed of the 5th, 75th, 78th, 84th, and 90th regiments of the British line, the 1st

Madras European regiment, the Ferozepore regiment of Sikhs, the 12th irregular horse, a body of volunteer cavalry, and a formidable detail of artillery, engineers, sappers, &c., &c.; the whole amounting to about 3,500 men, partly stationed at the Alumbagh, and partly in an intrenched camp between that post and the city.

In consequence of the successful result of the action at Cawnpore on the 6th of December, it appeared of importance to the commander-in-chief, that the road between that place and Sir James Outram's post in Oude, should be thenceforth kept free from

* See *ante*, p. 98.

interruption by scattered parties of the enemy, and the communication between himself and the force at the Alumbagh rendered less precarious. In order to effect this desirable object, the following memorandum was forwarded to the major-general by the chief of the staff at Cawnpore:—

“Head-quarters, Cawnpore, Dec. 8th.

“The commander-in-chief is of opinion, that you should take immediate steps in pursuance of the advantages gained the day before yesterday at Cawnpore, to put your communications with this place in a thoroughly effective condition. You will, therefore, on the receipt of this memorandum, detach to the rear 400 European soldiers, 200 Madras infantry, Captain Olphert’s light field battery, and half your cavalry, with all your camels.

“This force, which should be placed under your best officer, must clear the vicinity of the road from Alumbagh to Cawnpore, of all refractory characters, including Munsik Ali, who disturbs the neighbourhood of Onoa. This force will collect, as it marches, as much carriage as possible, bringing it to the north bank of the Ganges, to be laden with gram and supplies for your field force. The difficulties of procuring carriage at Cawnpore are very great, but every effort is being made in your behalf.”

The instructions thus conveyed appear to have been met with strong objection by Sir James Outram, who considered that the weakening of his force to so great an extent, while in the immediate proximity of an enemy nearly ten times his numerical strength, would be to risk the safety of the position entrusted to him, and, in all probability, might lead to its loss. On the 11th of the month, therefore, he submitted his view of the inexpediency of the measure enjoined upon him, in the following letter to the chief of the staff, for the information of the commander-in-chief:—

“Camp, Alumbagh, Dec. 11th, 1857.

“Sir,—I am directed by Major-general Sir James Outram to acknowledge the receipt of the message dispatched by you, by cossid, on the 8th instant, with the account of the commander-in-chief’s victory over the Gwalior force, which arrived yesterday. He did not, however, bring the ‘memorandum’ by the chief of the staff, for the guidance of Sir J. Outram, G.C.B. Sir James only received the copy of that this morning. He is desirous of being informed if the memo-

randum was sent by the cossid, that he may deal with him according to his deserts, if he has been playing false. He has been examined, and will remain a prisoner until information is received from you.

“Sir J. Outram is much concerned to find, by that ‘memorandum,’ that the commander-in-chief expects him to detach so large a force to the rear as 400 Europeans and 200 Madras infantry, as well as half the cavalry, and Captain Olphert’s light field battery.

“In his letter to the governor-general in council of the 9th instant, which was forwarded, under a flying seal, for the commander-in-chief’s information, he states—‘We have barely carriage for a weak brigade; which, however, could not be detached with prudence, to a distance involving an absence of more than a day, without exposing the camp to considerable risk, menaced as it is by many thousands of the enemy, supported by several guns posted in the gardens and enclosures on this side of the canal, on our front and flanks, which daily send round shot into our advanced posts, though from so great a distance as to do no injury.’

“The enemy are now busily employed in erecting a battery on our left flank, which very likely is intended for defensive purposes, but, at the same time, might become offensive at any moment: they are also daily strengthened by the fugitives of the army defeated by the commander-in-chief.

“They have lately brought out two horse artillery guns. These guns could do much harm by moving on our flanks, if we had no guns of a similar description to oppose to them; and it must be recollected that they have a strong reserve of guns in the city, which might, at any time, be brought out against this camp or the Alumbagh. We are also entirely without gram, and we shall be obliged to make more distant expeditions in search of it; and these parties must, of course, be increased in strength in proportion.

“The cavalry force is most inefficient: the horses of the volunteer cavalry, and the irregulars, who have all been in the presidency, are so reduced in condition, that they can render little or no service; and our present want of gram, and the cold at night, prevent their regaining it. The military train can only mount 140 men; their saddle-trees being so bad, that no amount of stuffing suffices to prevent sore

backs; and these, therefore, comprise the only efficient cavalry we have.

"Detaching 200 Madras infantry from Bunnee, would weaken Colonel Fisher too much, as strong parties of the enemy, accompanied by guns, have been reported as moving along the old road to our rear, and in the direction of that post; and Sir James thought it expedient, on Colonel Fisher's application, to reinforce him with 50 Europeans; they will, however, accompany the convoy, and remain at Bunnee on their return.

"The major-general also writes to point out the extensive nature of his position, the right of which is Jellalabad, and the left resting on a village to the left of the main road—a front, altogether, of nearly four miles. This extent is rendered necessary by being obliged to occupy Jellalabad, in which direction all the grazing and forage for the cattle is obtained; and the villages on the left front and flank have to be occupied, in order to prevent the enemy commanding the main road and our flank with their guns, from a very strong defensive position. Sir J. Outram trusts that the commander-in-chief will view these points in the same light that he does, and agree with him in the inexpediency, under these circumstances, of detaching the force proposed to the rear.

"To-night, the convoy, consisting of 350 camels, will leave this camp, escorted by 150 European infantry, fifty Sikhs, and twenty-five cavalry, and be joined at Bunnee by fifty of the 90th regiment, now stationed there. This is the utmost of the force Sir James feels himself justified in sending. He retains 150 camels, for the purpose of bringing in gram, which, from information received, he hopes to lay his hands on. Your letter only specifies camels; and Sir James has not sent any carts, as it delays the march of the convoy, and involves a larger escort accompanying it.—I have, &c.,

"F. BERKELEY, Colonel,
"Chief of the Staff."

The remonstrance thus submitted by Sir James Outram, through the chief of his staff, was by no means satisfactory to Sir Colin Campbell, by whose orders the following memorandum was immediately transmitted to the Alumbagh, for the guidance of the major-general:—

"Head-quarters, Cawnpore, Dec. 12th.

"The commander-in-chief has had under his consideration, a letter addressed to the

chief of the staff by Colonel Berkeley, deputy-adjutant-general, by order of Major-general Sir James Outram, G.C.B., in which the reasons of the latter are alleged for not giving execution to his excellency's orders, conveyed in the memorandum by Major-general Mansfield, chief of the staff, on the 7th of December.

"It is a subject of the deepest regret to his excellency that he cannot coincide in the reasoning of Sir James Outram, the order above alluded to having been considered with the greatest care before it was given, with reference to the country in which Sir James Outram's camp is pitched, and the knowledge of what it is in the power of the enemy to attempt.

"His excellency entreats Sir James Outram to believe that he is fully alive to the circumstances of his position, and he does not think it possible for him to be threatened by real danger.

"Including the posts of Alumbagh and Bunnee, Sir James Outram has at his disposal 4,400 fighting-men, of which the bulk is composed of European infantry, besides a very powerful artillery. The effect of the late successes on the right bank of the Ganges, cannot but be felt throughout the province of Oude as elsewhere.

"If the left be threatened by a battery, his excellency would suggest the advisability of attacking and destroying it before it can become a cause of annoyance. If, on the occasion of a detachment going out, Sir James has fears for his position, his excellency would further venture to suggest that the front of the camp should be contracted, or that it should be converted into a bivouac, in case of really imminent danger.

"The strength of detachments is always calculated by the commander-in-chief with the greatest care, with reference to general circumstances, with which it is hardly possible that any one but his excellency should be acquainted.

"In conclusion, his excellency observes, that nothing advanced in this memorandum is said by way of reproach, but merely of advice and friendly caution."

The "advice" and "caution" thus furnished, might naturally, from its tone, seem to require the paragraph that closed the memorandum, which was calculated to operate as a salve to the wound that document might tacitly inflict upon the feelings of an officer of the rank and merit of Sir

James Outram, who, as a disciplinarian himself, could do no other than bow in silence to the reproof thus administered to him by his superior in rank and responsibility. Further correspondence on the subject was therefore avoided; but the irritable feeling on either side had scarcely time to calm down, before some "routine" blunders in the quartermaster-general's department at the Alumbagh, brought down the following communication from the chief of the staff, "for the guidance of Sir James Outram," and his officers in charge of departments:—

"Head-quarters, Cawnpore, Dec. 15th.

"Two hundred gun-bullocks have been dispatched to Sir J. Outram, yoked to carts. He will have the goodness to apply them to the guns. A fortnight's provisions for all Sir James Outram's force, including Bunnee, together with what stores of clothing, tentage, and boots, it is in the power of Brigadier Inglis, commanding at Cawnpore, to give.

"Sir James Outram will arrange in future, by order of his excellency, to send a sufficient escort, with carriage, once a fortnight, to take out what supplies he may want from Cawnpore to his camp. This escort must never consist of less than 350 European infantry, 150 native infantry, seventy cavalry soldiers, together with two field guns. Colonel Fisher, commanding at Bunnee, being under the command of Sir James Outram, will be supplied by the commissariat of the major-general's division, and not from that of Cawnpore, which belongs to another.

"It will be easy for Captain Maclean and Captain Christopher so to arrange together, under the orders of the deputy-commissary-general, that the supplies meant for Bunnee, shall not travel onwards to Alumbagh.

"Sir J. Outram is informed that, owing to the neglect of his deputy-assistant-quartermaster-general, or other staff officer, a quantity of flannel shirts and serge jackets, besides other articles, which had been provided by the commander-in-chief for the use of his division, were positively allowed to return to Cawnpore, instead of being made use of as intended.

"The chief of the staff is aware that an order was issued, on the occasion of the commander-in-chief quitting Alumbagh, that the quilts, &c., brought for Sir James Outram's division, should be taken charge

of at once. It appears never to have occurred to his staff officer to have examined the other bales besides those containing quilts, although it was perfectly well known to every one in the force, that what stores were in Alumbagh, had been brought solely for the use of the Lucknow garrison under Sir James Outram.

"Sir James Outram is requested to inform the officers subordinate to Colonel Berkeley, now on the staff of his division, of the commander-in-chief's marked displeasure on this account, and to enforce their personal attention and superintendence of every duty committed to their charge. Any staff officer failing in this respect in future, will be immediately deprived of his appointment, according to a general order lately published on the subject."

It may be presumed, that the warning thus given had its intended effect, as no record appears to be extant of any continued displeasure of the commander-in-chief with the staff at the Alumbagh; nor did another instance occur during its occupation by Sir James Outram, of objections to the declared arrangements of Sir Colliu Campbell.

We may now resume our detail of active operations in connection with the important position held by the force under Major-general Sir James Outram, and the final reoccupation of the capital of Oude.

From the time of the departure of the commander-in-chief, on the night of the 22nd of November, no serious aggression on the part of the rebels was attempted until the 22nd of the following month, when General Outram received information that the enemy were preparing to cut off his communication with Cawnpore, and to form a chain of outposts between the camp and Bunnee, about fourteen miles on the Cawnpore-road, where he intended to place guns in position; and to effect this purpose, 5,000 men, with four guns, were collected at a village called Guilec, about three miles from the camp, in the direction of Dilkoosha, and at a short distance from the city. The troops at the Alumbagh were already becoming tired of the inactivity enforced by their position; and Sir James Outram, feeling that the occasion warranted immediate action, determined upon taking the enemy by surprise, and thus frustrating their project. Accordingly, the necessary force for an attack was detailed

off; and at 4 o'clock A.M. on the 22nd of December, the troops—consisting of 1,100 infantry, and 150 cavalry, with six guns—marched from the station, and arrived near the advanced picket of the enemy by daybreak. The force quietly approached, under cover of a ruined village, until within a hundred yards of the rebels, when they halted; and scouts were sent out to discover their position. These were absent but a few minutes, when they returned and reported to the general. Sir James Outram at once advanced alone a short distance, to satisfy himself of their accuracy, and then silently beckoned to the troops to advance. As they emerged into the open plain in rear of the village, the cavalry videttes of the enemy were seen directly in front of them; but so completely surprised were the latter, that for some moments they stood gazing upon the advancing column as if incredulous of sight. They at length challenged; but without loitering for a reply, the astonished troopers discharged their carbines at random, and galloped off to their main body. As soon as the English troops were fairly in the open ground, but before they could deploy into line, the enemy, who were favourably posted in a thick tope, fired upon them with musketry and round shot. Sir James Outram at once gave the order to form line and advance; and without giving the rebels time to fire a second volley, the troops rushed forward with a hearty cheer, and drove everything before their bayonets. Their first trophy was the gun belonging to the enemy, which was taken with the loss of only one man killed and one wounded. The troops continued to advance, skirmishing through a jungle on the right of the enemy's position; and having driven them out of the latter, reformed line, and advanced across a wide plain in pursuit. The ground being favourable for cavalry at this place, the volunteer corps made a brilliant charge, and drove the enemy in confusion towards the town, leaving three guns to their pursuers. As the object of the general was simply to drive them from the position they had taken, and capture such guns as they might have brought with them, without hazarding a general engagement, the troops were now halted, and shortly after returned to the camp, which they reached about 11 A.M., to breakfast. The loss of the enemy in this morning encounter, was estimated at 150 killed, and four guns. On the side of the

British, the killed and wounded amounted to three only.

The following despatch of Major-general Outram to the deputy-adjutant-general of the army, gives the official details of the battle of Guilee:—

"Camp before Lucknow, Dec. 23rd, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour to report, for the information of his excellency the commander-in-chief, that I had yesterday an affair with the enemy at a village called Guilee, three miles from hence, situated a little to the right of the road to Dilkoosha.

"I had been informed two days previously, by my spies, that the enemy contemplated surrounding my position, in order to cut off supplies, stop all foraging expeditions, and to intercept my communication with Bunnee. With this object, they dispatched a force to Guilec, which took up a position between that village and Budroop, which places are about a mile distant from each other.

"On the evening of the 21st instant, I learnt that the rebels had been reinforced, and that their strength amounted to about 4,000 infantry, 400 cavalry, and eight field guns.*

"Having ascertained that a space of about half a mile intervened between their position and the gardens skirting the canal and the Dilkoosha, I moved out at 5 A.M., in the hope of surprising them at daybreak and intercept their retreat to the city, with a force detailed in the accompanying divisional order, which I have this day issued, and to which I beg to refer his excellency for all details, and for the terms in which I express my appreciation of the conduct of the troops on the occasion.

"The main body of the enemy being on the march considerably in advance, retreated to the city by a detour to the left, out of our reach, and concealed by intervening topes of trees, on hearing the attack on their rear; but the loss of four horse artillery guns, much ammunition, besides elephants and baggage, and some fifty or sixty men slain, will, I think, deter the enemy from again venturing beyond their defensive works, or at any rate, from attempting, for some time to come, to carry out their plan for surrounding this camp within a too limited circumference; and I have great hopes that the success of this expedition will be productive of good effect

* Since ascertained to be only four, all of which were captured.

in restoring confidence to the neighbouring inhabitants."

Divisional Orders issued by Major-general Outram, G.C.B.

"Camp, Alumbagh, Dec. 23rd, 1857.

"Major-general Sir James Outram has much pleasure in recording, in divisional orders, his satisfaction with the conduct of the officers and men* under the command of Brigadier Stisted, engaged yesterday in the skirmish at Guilee, in which four guns and twelve waggons, filled with ammunition, were captured. The right column, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Purnell, her majesty's 90th regiment, consisting of detachments of the 78th and 90th regiments, and of the Ferozepore regiment of Sikhs, excited his admiration, by the gallant way in which, with a cheer, they dashed at a strong position held by the enemy, and from which they were met by a heavy fire; regardless of the overwhelming numbers, and six guns reported to be posted there. The suddenness of the attack, and the spirited way in which it was executed, resulted in the immediate flight of the enemy, with hardly a casualty on our side.

"Colonel Guy, in command of the left column, consisting of her majesty's 5th fusiliers, under the guidance of Lieutenant Moorsom, deputy-assistant-quartermaster-general, was equally successful in his simultaneous attack on the adjacent village of Guilee; in which, and the adjoining tope, two guns were captured. The enemy were now rapidly followed up across the plain by the volunteer cavalry, under Captain Barrow, until they found refuge in a village, from which they opened a fire of grape and musketry. They were, however, speedily dislodged, by the assistance of two of Captain Olphert's guns, under the command of Lieutenant Smithett; and, changing their line of retreat, they endeavoured to reach the city by the way of the Dilkoosha.

"The military train, under Major Robertson, having been, however, dispatched to make a flank movement, followed them up so closely, that they dispersed their cavalry,

and drove their guns into a ravine, where they were captured, the leading horses, of which the traces were cut, only escaping. The major-general was particularly pleased with the very cool and soldierlike behaviour of the military train. Far ahead of the infantry, and unable to remove the guns which were captured, they were menaced in their front by a large body of fresh troops from the city, and attacked, on their right flank, by the main body of the enemy, consisting of about 2,000 infantry, who had commenced their march previous to our attack; and who, on hearing their rear assailed, also changed their route to one in the direction of the city; and seeing their guns in possession of so small a force as that under Major Robertson, made demonstrations of an attempt to regain them; but by the bold front shown by the military train, and the gallant advance of their skirmishers, were held at bay until the arrival of a party of the 5th fusiliers, and two 9-pounder guns, under Captain Olphert, who completely secured their capture, and enabled a working party of Madras sappers, under the command of Lieutenant Ogilvie, to extricate them from the ravine into which they had been driven. Captain Hutchinson, chief engineer, on this, as on several other occasions during the day, afforded much valuable assistance.

"The major-general has to thank Lieutenant-colonel H. Hamilton, commanding the reserve, for the good position taken up by him; which, with the fire of the two guns under Lieutenant Simpson, which were most judiciously posted, were of great assistance in checking the advance of the enemy, during the protracted operations of removing the captured guns.

"Sir James Outram has also to express his acknowledgments to Brigadiers Hamilton and Eyre, who were left in charge of the camp, and who, with the small force at their disposal, checked the dispositions for an attack, which the enemy was commencing with their skirmishers on the left flank, until the return of the force to camp caused them to abandon their intentions.

* Two 9-pounder guns, royal artillery, Captain Maude; four ditto, 2nd company 3rd battalion Bengal artillery, Captain Olphert; 112 of the military train, Major Robertson; 30 of volunteer cavalry, Lieutenant Hay and Lieutenant Graham; 550 of H.M.'s 5th fusiliers, Colonel Guy; 103 of H.M.'s 75th regiment, Captain Brookes; 156 of H.M.'s 78th highlanders, Captain Lockhart; 108 of H.M.'s 84th regiment, Captain O'Brien; 270 of H.M.'s 90th light infantry,

Captain Guise; 150 of the regiment of Ferozepore, Captain Brasyer; 40 Madras sappers, Lieutenant Ogilvie: total, six 9-pounder guns, under Captain Olphert; 190 cavalry under Major Robertson; 1,227 infantry, under Brigadier Stisted; right column, under Lieutenant-colonel Purnell, H.M.'s 90th light infantry; left column, under Colonel Guy, 5th fusiliers; reserve, under Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, H.M.'s 78th highlanders.

"It will be the pleasing duty of the major-general to make his excellency the commander-in-chief acquainted with the successful result of yesterday's operations, and his approbation of the conduct of all those concerned in them."

A letter from the Alumbagh, written a few days after this spirited affair, says—"On the 22nd of December, the enemy made a clever attempt to obtain possession of the road to Cawnpore. They posted 1,200 men inside a jungle, with a sandy plain in front, and the road close at hand. Sir James Outram understood the plan; and at night, two regiments were silently put in motion. The soft sand deadened all sound, and dawn found them within the enemy's pickets. A rattling volley, a cheer, and the enemy, pouring in one discharge, fled, leaving their guns (four) and about a hundred men dead on the field. Since that day nothing has been seen of the foe, who are believed to be quarrelling fiercely among themselves, instigated by some one whom the spies and our officers call the queen-mother. They are said to be losing heart; and some of the chiefs have sent silver fish (the symbol of nobility) to the general, as a token of surrender. Maun Sing and Bal Kishan (the finance minister) are reported as amongst those who are anxious to treat; and as several European captives are in their hands, if the rebels are sincere in their advances, it is hoped that their overtures may not be altogether rejected. All information, however, as to their intentions, is at present doubtful; for, in contradiction to the rumours of their inclination to succumb, it is said that 27,000 men are at work repairing the intrenchments vacated by us in November, and that they intend to hold them to the last man. However true this may be of the sepoys, it is certain that the peasantry are turning round, which is not a good omen for them. For a fortnight after the retreat from Lucknow, not a grain of wheat or a wisp of hay could be procured from them, even by force: but the victory of the 6th of this month, by Sir Colin Campbell, suddenly changed the tone of popular feeling. It was then discovered that 'the English raj was really *not* over;' and the 'Sahib loge' speedily became much honoured by these servile people. Grain, forage, milk, bread, and vegetables poured into the camp with unprecedented abundance, and no difficulty was made in furnishing such supplies as the country

round afforded. The country is still swarming with armed vagabonds hastening to Lucknow, to meet their common doom, and die in the last grand struggle with the Feringhees. The more the better. It is the dispersion, not the strength of the enemy, that we dread."

From this time until near the middle of January, the enemy continued to receive almost daily an accession to their numbers, until the force within and around the city, amounted to near 87,000 men: they did not, however, make any demonstration against the camp at the Alumbagh, beyond keeping in activity a vigilant system of *espionage*; by means of which the measures of the commandant of that garrison were made familiar to them, even before any attempt was made to carry them into effect: they also laboured hard at restoring the fortifications of the various important positions of the city, and in providing stores of ammunition, &c., in order to be fully prepared for the attack they anticipated from the force led by the commander-in-chief, and which they were aware would not be long delayed. This lull in their offensive operations did not arise from any indifference on their part to the important position held, as it were, at their very gates by Sir James Outram; and it was deemed necessary that, previous to the arrival of any large British force before Lucknow, the garrison at Alumbagh should be annihilated. For this purpose an opportunity seemed to present itself by the absence of a considerable number of the British troops, who had been dispatched to convoy a supply of provisions from Cawnpore; and accordingly a large force was detailed to attack the garrison in its weakened state: but Sir James Outram had intelligence of the intended attack, and was prepared to meet it. At sunrise on the morning of the 12th of January, the rebels were seen advancing from the city in a stream of columns, amounting, in round numbers, to 30,000 men, forming a wide semicircle in front and flank of the Alumbagh and camp. General Outram, who had no idea of being confined to the walls of his citadel, at once massed his force of little more than 3,000 effective men into two brigades, and sent them out to confront the enemy. A fierce and sanguinary contest ensued; for, while the main body of the enemy attacked the two English brigades, a second division proceeded to assault the fort of Jellalabad, which formed

the right extremity of the British position; while a third, by a detour, reached the Alumbagh, defended only by a very small portion of the garrison, and endeavoured to intercept and cut off General Outram's communication with it. The struggle continued between the mere handful of men under the British general, and the overwhelming numbers of the enemy, from sunrise until four o'clock in the afternoon, every gun being incessantly employed in repelling the advance of dense masses of the enemy. Foiled at every point by the indomitable bravery of the troops opposed to them, the enemy at length withdrew to their positions in the city, and the gardens and villages surrounding it, leaving on the field upwards of 400 killed. To pursue the retreating force with such disparity of numbers was not considered prudent, after the arduous exertions made by the men during fourteen hours of incessant fighting, and Sir James Outram remained content with holding possession of the field, and securing his position at the Alumbagh. The whole of the casualties on the English side in this affair, amounted to six wounded.

On the 16th of the month, the enemy appeared again in the field before Alumbagh. The force upon this occasion was led by a Hindoo fanatic, supposed to be a fakir of the Monkey Temple in Awadh, disguised to represent the Monkey god Humayun. This enthusiast marched at the head of the insurgents, and incited them, by his cries and gestures, to rush upon and exterminate the little band, which they might have been sufficient to crush by mere force of numbers. Fortunately all the fanaticism in the world will not stop bullets; and the noisy and nimble-footed rebels had a far greater relish for keeping at a safe distance from English bayonets, than for grappling with them at close quarters. They therefore could only screw their courage up, on this occasion, to a tiresome and desultory conflict, which lasted from ten in the morning until nine at night, when they hastily retreated, leaving their leader, the representative of the Monkey god, a prisoner in the hands of the English troops, and a large number of killed and wounded upon the ground. The loss of the British was again but trifling—a circumstance partly attributable to the general's appreciation of the value of European life, and partly to the withering power of the Enfield rifle; for even numbers are of little value against an enemy who can fire

half-a-dozen rounds before the old musket can be brought within range; and thus it is that the disproportion of forces, and of casualties on either side, were satisfactorily accounted for.

The result of the attack on the 16th of January, was notified to the governor-general and the commander-in-chief, by the following telegram from Major-general Sir J. Outram:—

“Alumbagh, January 17th, 1858.

“The enemy attacked my position yesterday, the 16th, in force, led on by a Hindoo fanatic, Biduhe Dass Hunnooman, who was severely wounded and taken prisoner. The attacks from various quarters lasted, with slight intermission, from 10 A.M. till 9 P.M. —Loss on our side trifling: that of the enemy severe. This is the second attack within the last three days.”

At this period, the force of the enemy in and around Lucknow was daily increasing. Hour by hour they received accessions of troops from Goruckpore, from Rohilcund, and even from Central India. The leaders, driven from Etawah, Allygurh, Futteghur, Goruckpore, and Banda, were also swarming to Lucknow with their bands of desperadoes, and had there concentrated, it was supposed, upwards of 100,000 fighting-men, with from eighty to 100 guns, and abundance of ammunition. The fortifications of the city had been carefully restored, the streets intrenched, and most of the houses loopholed for musketry; in short, everything appeared to indicate that the rebels, driven to bay, intended to die fighting, or to drive the Europeans from Oude, believing they could now hold Lucknow as once they had held Bhurtpore. From the report of the spies sent among them at this time, it appeared to be the general belief that the present struggle between the sepoys and the British would terminate in the destruction of both parties. Thus an officer who was engaged in executing a party of the rebel prisoners, asked each before he died, why he had fought, and what was the proposed object of the war? and each gave, in effect, the same answer—“The slaughter of the English was required by our religion; the end will be, the destruction of all the English and all the sepoys; and then—God knows.”

Meanwhile an important contest of opinion was silently operating in the official world, at the seat of government, and at the camp as well as at the court. One party, led by the government in Calcutta, was anxious

that Lucknow should be attacked at once, and disposed of. "There," said they, "is the true seat of the rebellion; and that once secured, the bands scattered over the country would lose hope, and the rebellion would die out: but until that central point of union is destroyed, every day's delay adds to its strength and *prestige*; while the victories of the British troops only add to the number and the desperation of its defenders." It was contended, that while Lucknow continued in the hands of the rebels, the revolt had still a centre and a flag, around which the discontented from every quarter might and would rally.

The other party, headed by the commander-in-chief, were represented as holding it essential to clear Rohilcund first. They felt that the large bands of mutineers and insurgents still roaming over that province might intercept communications, and produce serious embarrassment; while the concentration of rebel troops at Lucknow would eventually be advantageous as bringing the difficulty to one point, instead of having it distributed all over the country. Another reason for delay also had some influence in this quarter: the Sikh levies, depended upon for the augmentation of Sir Colin's army, were slow in coming forward; and without them, the whole numerical strength of his command was inconsiderable. It was urged, that although some 13,000 men (the whole number that the persistent energy of the commander-in-chief was yet able to collect) might be sufficient, with its native auxiliaries and the Ghoorkas from Nepal, to recapture Lucknow, yet it would not suffice to take that place by street-fighting against 100,000 men—to leave a strong garrison there, and then, with the remainder of the little force, to effect the clearance of Rohilcund, with the hot season immediately before them. The commander-in-chief, therefore, was content to "bide his time."

From the 16th of January to the end of the second week in February, the rebels at Lucknow did not venture upon any renewed demonstration of their designs on Alumbagh; but hoping, probably, by another attack, to disarrange some part of the measures they justly calculated might be contemplated for their discomfiture, and being aware that the bulk of the English forces in India, under Sir Colin Campbell, were actually in motion towards the frontier of their country, they ventured upon repeated struggles with the troops at the

Alumbagh, and, as usual, met with signal defeat. The circumstances attending the most important of these affairs were as follow.

Exasperated by the continued loss to which the rebel force in and around Lucknow had been subjected by troops notoriously inferior to them in numerical strength, some adherents of the principal adviser of the queen (Mummoo Khan), issued a proclamation, in which it was declared that there were only 200 Europeans at Alumbagh, and yet that no one dared to attack them except Mummoo Khan. The vain-glorious boast gave great umbrage to the sepoys and their officers, who forthwith held a council of war, at which it was decided that two-and-a-half months' pay should be given to the troops engaged in a proposed assault, and certain distinctions were to be conferred upon them in case of success. The sepoys, who had more stomach for rewards than for the fight that was to win them, did not evince any considerable ardour in competing for the questionable prize, until at length one of the mutineer native officers of rank undertook to annihilate the entire English force at the Alumbagh within ten days, upon condition that he was appointed to the chief command for the occasion. His proposal was accepted; but half the stipulated period had already elapsed without any approach to the promised extermination, when it was discovered that Sunday, the 21st of February, would be a favourable day for the enterprise. A feud had for some weeks existed between the begum (acting as regent for her son) and a moulvie, who possessed great influence over the troops; but, in the hope of the prospective triumph, they were reconciled; and the Hindoos swore on the Ganges—the Mohammedans on the Koran—that they would destroy the British troops at the Alumbagh, or perish in the attempt. The plan of operations was to surround the force by making a wide detour to the rear, and, when the circle was completed, to close in, making desperate assaults at five or six different points at the same time; mass after mass being poured upon the Feringhees, until not one should be left alive to carry tidings of the defeat to the English commander-in-chief. The scheme was cleverly designed; and had its execution been equal to the spirit that conceived it, the result might have been serious: fortunately, it was not so.

Late in the evening previous to the

meditated attack, Major-general Outram was duly informed of the proposed operations of the rebels, and adopted instant measures to counteract them.

Just before daybreak on the morning of the 21st of February, a body of the rebel army, amounting to 20,000 men, with a large train of artillery, silently emerged from their shelter in the city and adjacent villages, and moved towards the British position. The major-general had already dispatched some cavalry and guns from the Alumbagh, to meet the right and left wings of the enemy, cautiously permitting them to proceed with their intended circle until it amounted to a horse-shoe. Unaware of the measures taken to arrest their progress, and supposing everything to be favourable to their project, the enemy commenced to fire from their front and both flanks at the same moment. They were at first replied to languidly, with the hope of drawing them on; but before they could find heart to advance, the British cavalry and guns were at work on both extremities of their line, and a general rout ensued. They were hotly chased by the cavalry and horse artillery; and their aggregate loss in the affair amounted to upwards of 500 men. The casualties on the side of the British amounted to six wounded only.

An officer in the force sent out to attack the rebel troops, describes the affair as follows:—"Early on the morning of the 21st of February, a body of the rebel troops, amounting to 20,000 men, emerged from the city and some adjacent villages, for the purpose of taking Alumbagh by assault. Their first operations having filled all the trenches with as many men as they could hold, and placed large masses of infantry in the topos as a support, a simultaneous movement was commenced round both flanks of General Outram's position, threatening, at the same time, the whole length of his front, the north-east corner of the Alumbagh, and the picket and fort at Jellalabad. Outram perceiving, at a glance, the nature and object of the attack, lost no time in strengthening the several endangered posts. At the Alumbagh and Jellalabad posts the enemy met a severe check, owing to their having ventured within range of the grapeshot which the British poured out upon them. The major-general then detached 250 cavalry and two field-pieces, in charge of Captain Barrow, to the rear of Jellalabad. Upon the arrival of the

detachment at this point, it came in front of a body of 2,000 of the enemy's cavalry and 5,000 infantry, which were advancing towards the garrison; but were so effectually kept at bay by the two field-pieces, that their intended scheme of attack was frustrated; and they halted, apparently undecided whether to fall upon and overwhelm the handful of men opposed to them, or to retire to another and less dangerous position. The enemy's attack on Major-general Outram's left flank, was made by no less than 5,000 cavalry and 8,000 infantry; to oppose which formidable number, he sent only four field guns and 120 men of the military train, under Major Robertson; and this mere handful of brave men, with their four guns, actually succeeded in driving back the armed masses before them. A large convoy from Cawnpore was known to be on its march at this time, and the necessary escort had taken away the greater part of our cavalry—a fact of which the enemy was aware; and yet, with a disproportion of numbers so great in their favour, and with all the advantages of choosing their plan of attack, and for the accession of reinforcements equal to, or even exceeding, their number in the field, this large army suffered itself to be ignominiously beaten by a few hundred men. The truth is, that our men now so heartily despise these miserable rebels, that a picket, or sometimes a dozen of men, will suffer themselves to be surrounded, without thinking of falling back on the main body, and then knock the enemy over with the Enfield rifle, man after man, as they come within reach. The assailants never dream of making a rush over the quarter of a mile at which the weapon is fatal, knowing that any that might escape would immediately fall into our hands; no party, however small, being left unwatched."

Cooled down by this repulse, the prudence of the enemy for a time restrained their courage; and during the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th, everything remained quiet on their part: but on the night of the 24th, a quarrel that had for some time existed between the Delhi and Oude sepoys, broke out into a fierce encounter, and there was much firing between the belligerent parties in the city. This, however, was but the prelude to another attempt upon the English position. About 9 A.M. of the 25th, information was sent in by the pickets, that the enemy, in large masses, were

endeavouring to creep round by the left, and get into the rear of the garrison. The pickets were instantly strengthened, especially on the flanks, and the troops were ordered to stand on the alert, but to make no movement until the enemy was close at hand. Upon this occasion, the queen, with her son and the officers and members of her court, came out of the city on state elephants, to encourage the assailants, and to be eyewitnesses of the anticipated victory. Stimulated by the presence of the begum, a strong body of the rebels advanced into a grove of trees near Jellalabad, when the order to charge was given, and, in less than five minutes, the leading column of the enemy was cut off from both its flanks. Two guns were captured in this charge, and two more immediately followed. The rebels were panic-stricken. The rout became general, and so precipitate, that the cavalry were seen riding over their own infantry in the way back to the city. Unfortunately for the pursuers, the ground was extremely broken and irregular, which interfered materially with the punishment the fugitives would otherwise have received; but the horse artillery, as usual, committed great havoc. From this time to the first week in March, the enemy remained quiet in their stronghold, which, with the exception of the residency compound, had been wholly in their hands since the early part of July in the preceding year.

The subjoined extracts of letters from the Alumbagh, during the period occupied by the occurrences referred to, are interesting, as furnishing personal views of the state of affairs in Oude at the time, and of camp life at the Alumbagh. The first is dated February the 17th; and reads thus:—"In the midst of my work yesterday, and whilst it was blowing a tremendous dust-storm, the rebels attempted to attack us, and turned out pretty strong on our left. Smithett was first sent off with a couple of guns, and Timbrell followed with four others. Captain Olpherts accompanied the party; and Robertson, with the military train, formed the cavalry escort to the guns. On seeing the rebel infantry, Olpherts, with the guns, galloped up to within 200 yards, and pitched in grape. The enemy fired once, knocked over one havildar driver, and then cut! Olpherts then gave them round and shrapnel, and retired, having spoilt a few of them. For some reason the cavalry did not charge; had they done so, they

might have cut up a lot. These rebels are getting more impertinent every day; and whilst I am writing, they are peppering away at a great pace. On the 15th, the guns, with Major Robertson, who commanded the cavalry, went out at a good trot for four or five miles, and then suddenly came down upon a party of the enemy's infantry hovering along the Bithoor-road, escorting someone in a dhooly. This we have since learnt was the moulvie of Lucknow. The guns were galloped smartly to the front—came about in splendid style at about 150 yards' distance, and then gave them grape. It was a splendid sight. The moulvie was wounded in the shoulder, and eight fellows were killed, and many wounded. If we had had a few more cavalry we might have cut up every one of them, and taken the moulvie prisoner; but Robertson did not like to leave the guns, as the enemy's cavalry were beginning to come out. We then came back, and not before it was time; for the rebels had put their whole army in motion, and were advancing upon us. On the 16th, the rebels attacked our position again, but, after a sharp contest for several hours, they were driven off. These fellows give us no peace by day or night, and our guns are now kept harnessed, in momentary expectation of being required. However, we are all jolly, and have no sickness in camp."

Another extract is from a letter dated "Alumbagh, February 20th." The writer states—"The engineers' park here is assuming most magnificent proportions—gabions in thousands, fascines in tens of thousands, and sand-bags by cart-loads, have already arrived from Cawnpore, or been made on the spot; boats, ladders, &c., are in proportion, and the sapper corps numbers nearly a thousand men. The enemy have shown their teeth frequently of late; but they have never succeeded in gaining anything beyond a loss, nor will they. They were to have attacked us in force yesterday, and once or twice we were on the alert, under the idea that they were coming on; but nothing occurred out of the usual practice of loud drumming and long-range practice; nor do I suppose that the attack threatened for to-morrow will be more to the purpose; for though they talk of bringing 'scaling-ladders' up to the Alumbagh enclosure, they are likely to sit down and calculate the cost before they venture to cross the intermediate 'open.' Their esca-

lade will be like their artillery attacks *à la distance*. The cause of their present activity is, that five days ago, a subahdar of the 65th regiment undertook to destroy the English in ten days, if he were made commander-in-chief for that time. He has now only half his time to do it in, poor fellow. The moulvie was wounded the other day in the arm by grape. His life will be saved, but his arm will be useless for the remainder of his days—no very protracted period, I fancy, if he falls into our hands. The begum, they say, is in a dreadful state of mind at the turn affairs have taken. The Delhi troops compelled her to release the moulvie, who, having set up a throne of his own in rivalry to that of her son (the present 'boy-king'), had been secured and thrown into prison; and as the moulvie declares that everything has gone wrong during his confinement (whereas, had he been at large, he would long since have exterminated us), the Delhi gentlemen are decidedly disrespectful to her majesty the queen-mother. The local troops, by whom her son was placed on the throne, though very respectful, are unequivocally disobedient. They profess their readiness to fight *on being paid*—a condition with which their royal mistress cannot comply; and they are not the men to be coaxed into perilous activity by the promises of the lady, although she has increased their pay to twelve rupees per mensem—that of the recusant Delhi-ites remaining at nine rupees. To add to the poor woman's discomfort, Maun Sing has broken away from the rebels, and entered into an alliance with Macgregor. Maun's example has been followed by other sirdars; and a very general feeling of distrust seems to prevail in the rebel ranks. So uncomfortable is the position of the poor begum, that even her favourite, Mummoo Khan—the darogah of the ex-king's seraglio, and well known to be the father of the present boy-king; though, of course, the latter is, in theory, the son of Wajid Ali—has latterly presumed to be insolent towards her, and has, in consequence, been more than once reprimanded for it in durbar. The begum holds daily *levées*, and addresses the officers of state, civil and military, with much energy from behind a purdah. Poor thing! she talks of poisoning herself and her son also, so soon as the Kaiserbagh is stormed; and it is the very best thing she can do. It will save herself and Sir Colin

Campbell a world of trouble; for if taken, it is impossible she can be let off; and I am sure Sir Colin would much rather not have the hanging of her—he hates that sort of thing."

As the time approached when Lucknow was again destined to revert to the possession of the English authorities—a fact to be realised only through torrents of blood and days of frightful carnage—it may be *apropos* here to observe, that during the interval between November and March, the defences of the city had been greatly strengthened and augmented. Although not surrounded by a fortified wall, as Delhi had been, its many miles of area, full of narrow streets and lofty houses, and occupied by an enormous military force, in addition to the ordinary population, constituted it a formidable stronghold. The city, it will be remembered, lies on the right bank of the river Goomtee, which there runs nearly from north-west to south-east; all the buildings on the opposite or left bank of the river being nearly suburban. After winding round the buildings called the Martinière and the Dilkosha, the river changes its course towards the south. The south-eastern extremity of the city is bounded by a canal, which enters the Goomtee near the Martinière; but there is no defined boundary on the south-west, west, or north-west. Between the crowded or commercial part of the city, and the river, there extended, previous to the revolt, a long range of palaces and gardens, occupying, collectively, an immense area, and known by the several names of the Secunderbagh, the Shah Nujeef, Shah Munzil, the Motee Mahal, the Kaiserbagh (or Palace of the King), the Chuttur Munzil, Fhurreed Buksh, the Residency enclosure, Muchee Bowun, the great Emaumbarra, and the Moosabagh; these various palaces and stately buildings occupying an almost continuous line of five miles along the right bank of the river, and forming a belt between it and the poorer and more dense portion of the city. To cross the river, there were at this time three bridges—namely, one of stone, near the great Emaumbarra; an iron suspension bridge, near the residency; and a bridge of boats, near the Motee Mahal.

In preparing for the struggle which they were well aware was before them, the rebels did not neglect the various precautions of defensive warfare; and rightly judging that the English commander would avoid a hand-

to-hand contest in the streets, and would direct his attack towards the south-eastern suburb, they exerted themselves in strengthening that side of the city. In their plan of fortification they prudently treated the buildings and courts of the Kaiserbagh as a citadel, and interposed between it and the expected besiegers a series of formidable works. The exterior of these was a line of defence extending from the river to a building known as "Banks' House;" of this line the canal formed the wet ditch, and behind it was a rampart or embankment with guns. The second defence consisted of an earthwork beginning at the river-side, near the Motee Mahal: and the third, or interior defence, was formed by the principal rampart of the Kaiserbagh itself. All these lines consisted of well-constructed earthen parapets, or ridges fronted by wide and deep ditches, and strengthened at intervals by bastions. But not alone on these formidable works did the enemy rely; for, with prudent foresight, they had loopholed and fortified almost every house and enclosure, constructed strong counter-guards in front of the gateways, and placed isolated bastions, stockades, and traverses across each of the principal streets. The three lines of defence all abutted at one extremity on the river Goomtee; and, at the other, on the great street or road called the Huzrut-gunge, which was one of the chief avenues, and was loopholed and bastioned. Nearly one hundred guns and mortars were placed in position upon the various works; and the number of troops collected for the defence of the place, was computed as ranging between ninety and one hundred thousand. Whatever the exact number of troops might then have been, it was certain that, at the beginning of March, the city contained above 60,000 revolted sepoys; and at least 50,000 irregular volunteers, and armed retainers of insurgent chiefs; besides the ordinary city population of some 300,000 persons; and upon this immense host of living beings, congregated and massed within the boundaries of Lucknow, the storm of war was about to burst with pitiless but just severity. The insurgent chiefs of Oude, with their followers, animated by a desire to avenge the wrong inflicted upon their native sovereign by the prostration of his throne, and the degradation of his kingdom to the level of a mere English province, were there assembled to make a last effort for native independence. The mutinous and revolted sepoys of the

Anglo-Indian government, whose lives scarcely depended upon the alternative afforded by victory or defeat, were there also in their desperation; and the position of the mere resident population was necessarily compromised by their presence. This, however, was a result which the stern necessities of the war rendered unavoidable under any circumstances.

Of the leaders and chief personages who exercised influence over this vast multitude at the time, the first and prime mover of the insurrectionary movement was the begum, Huzrut Mehal, first wife of the king of Oude, then a prisoner at Fort William, Calcutta. This personage is represented to be a woman of much energy of character; who, since the departure of her husband, had assumed the regency of the kingdom, acting in the name of, and during the minority of her son, a boy of eight years old, whom she now desired to be looked upon as the successor of his father upon the musnud. A favourite counsellor of the begum, named Mummoo Khan, raised by her to the office of chief judge, and one Shirreff-u-Dowlah, the chief minister, were her principal advisers; the commander-in-chief, Hissamut-u-Dowlah, also exercised great influence in the councils of the regent; as did also a moulvie, or Mussulman fanatic, who, though professing allegiance to the infant prince, laid under strong suspicion of aiming at the throne for his own purposes—a surmise that created much personal ill-feeling at times between the begum and himself. Most of the chief officers of the existing Oudian government, had purchased their places by large gifts to the begum or her favourites, and were consequently deeply interested in the success of her cause in the approaching struggle. The powerful military commands under Shirreff-u-Dowlah, were held by eunuchs of the royal palace.

One serious obstacle to success in this war—which, as regards the Oudians exclusively, might be regarded as a war of independence—was the simple fact, that the court of Lucknow was a vast mass of intrigue, in which the various members of the royal family only sought how they might obtain power and wealth at the expense of each other, and of the bulk of the people; while the ministers and officers were only subservient to their purposes, so far as might conduce to their own personal interests. The begum and the moulvie

leader, although moved by different considerations, were in fact the chief levers by which popular resistance to British rule was moved, and by them every measure was resorted to that would incite the fanaticism of the native population against the English, who were studiously represented as murdering all that fell into their hands; and resistance to the death was inculcated as the only means by which a chance of deliverance could be preserved to the people of Oude.

After the reduction and reoccupation of Futteghur and Furruckabad, it will be remembered, the commander-in-chief continued for some days encamped in the neighbourhood of the former place, busily occupied in collecting his resources for the final advance into Oude. While thus stationed, his excellency dispatched to the governor-general the following account of the operations of the various forces under his command :—

“Head-quarters, Fort Futteghur, Jan. 5th, 1858.

“My Lord,—I have already had the honour to inform your lordship by telegraph, of the various arrangements which have been made for the march of the force, under my immediate command, up the Doab. Having been obliged to part with much of my carriage to meet the wants of Major-general Sir J. Outram, G.C.B., in Oude, considerable delay was unavoidable at Cawnpore after the action of the 6th. The time, however, was not lost. A brigade under Brigadier the Hon. Adrian Hope was detached to Bithoor, where every vestige of the Nana Sahib's property was swept away; and, after very considerable exertion, much treasure recovered from the wells belonging to his former palace. The troops had worked hard at this duty; and it was not completed when it became necessary for Brigadier Hope to close on me, subsequent to my march. The 88th foot was accordingly ordered out from Cawnpore, under Colonel Maxwell, C.B., to prosecute the researches which had already been attended by much success. An order has been given to transfer the treasure so found to Mr. Sherer, civil magistrate of Cawnpore.

“Another brigade had been detached under Brigadier Walpole, to make a detour by Akbarpore, through Etawah to Mynpoorie, with orders to rejoin me on the Grand Trunk-road. The effect of this movement has been excellent; and Captain Bradford, the officer whom I selected to act as a special commissioner to accompany Brigadier Walpole's force, has been enabled to shape out the police arrangements. He has punished some notorious malefactors and disaffected districts, as shown by the various reports which have been forwarded to the secretary of government. In consequence of the march of this column, it would appear that there has been a complete sweep of rebels and bad characters from the southern part of the Doab. Brigadier Walpole joined me yesterday at Futteghur, and has received my entire approval for the able and judicious manner in which he has carried out the duty entrusted to

him. I am informed, by the civil authorities, that my protracted stay at Cawnpore was of much benefit; and I am convinced that, apart from any immediate military object, it is necessary for the re-establishment of authority, that the march of the troops should be deliberate. Time is thus afforded to the magistrates and special commissioners to visit rebellious towns and villages, and again display to the people, in an unmistakable manner, the resolution of your lordship's government to visit punishment on all those who have, during the last few months, set aside their allegiance. Our movements have accordingly been regulated on this principle with reference to the day on which Brigadier Walpole was ordered to be at Mynpoorie, and the date of the probable arrival of Colonel Seaton's column from Delhi, at the same place. Having completed my means of movement with the carts which had returned from Allahabad on the 23rd December, after conveying the wounded to that station, I marched to Chowbepore on the 24th.

“On the 28th, while the head-quarters and one brigade were advanced to Meerunka Serai, Major-general Windham, C.B., was detached with his remaining brigade to Futtiah, the rajah of which place had abandoned his fort the night of the advance from Cawnpore. The fort was destroyed by the engineers, and several rebels belonging to the villages in the neighbourhood were disposed of by the magistrate. Mr. Power accompanied this brigade, and was enabled to make a good circuit round the country. Measures were taken, from our several halting-places, to destroy the country boats on the Ganges, in order to prevent interruption of the Doab, from the Oude side of the river, when the troops should have moved on. A considerable number were burnt, but it is probable that many may have escaped notice.

“On the 31st of December the leading brigades arrived at Goorsaingunge, Brigadier Greathed and Major-general Windham closing up, the one from the river in the evening, and the other from Futtiah the next day. Early in the forenoon of the 1st of January, Brigadier Hope was sent forward with two regiments to the Kalee Nuddee, to prevent the further destruction of the iron suspension-bridge by the rebels. They disappeared on his approach, and the corps of royal engineers and Bengal sappers, with a party of sailors, under Major Nicholson (royal engineers), set to work with great vigour, and worked day and night for the repair of the bridge, which had been very much injured. I consider that Major Nicholson, and the officers and men under his command, deserve great credit for the unflagging industry and real skill displayed on this occasion. The sailors were specially useful to Major Nicholson, in the management of the ropes which replaced the broken part of the iron-work of the suspension-bridge.

“On the morning of the 2nd of January, I rode out, accompanied by the chief of the staff, to see if the bridge was ready for the advance of the column. Shortly after my arrival, while I was inspecting the work, which was nearly complete, I observed an unusual movement amongst the villagers in a village about half a mile to the right front of the bridge. It soon became evident that an attack was about to be made on the working parties. The picket, which had been placed on the enemy's side of the river, to cover the working party, was quickly reinforced. The pickets there, consisting of a wing of the 53rd

regiment, were skilfully laid out by Major Payn, of that corps, under the direction of Brigadier Hope, to the left and along the road. The enemy attacked with guns and musketry, whilst the remainder of the 53rd was passing the bridge in support, and the heavy guns were being advanced from the position in which they had originally been placed, to cover the working parties. The right wing of the 93rd highlanders remained on the right bank of the Kalee Nuddee, in reserve. A raking fire was quickly opened by Lieutenant Vaughan, of the royal navy, and Major Smith, commanding a field battery, royal artillery. It not appearing expedient to press the enemy till the remainder of the force should come up (for which orders were sent), the position now taken up by the 53rd regiment was secured, and the fire of the enemy kept down by our guns; but an advance was not permitted. I may mention that the flanks had been secured, when the bridge was first occupied, by the detachment of a wing of the highlanders at Rowen, a village about three miles to the right, where there was a ford; a patrol having been sent also on the previous day to destroy whatever boats might be found, for several miles up the Kalee Nuddee, to the left of the bridge. At 11 A.M., the main column from the old camp began to arrive, Brigadier Greathed's brigade leading. At the same time it was observed that the enemy had got a heavy gun in position, which had not opened before about half-past 2 P.M.; the 53rd, supported by the 93rd, advanced on the village, to the right, which had already been evacuated in consequence of the fire brought upon it; whilst Brigadier Greathed marched along the left of it, the cavalry moving at a sharp pace on the line of the enemy's retreat towards Futteghur. The retreat of the enemy soon became a rapid flight, considerable execution being inflicted by the cavalry, under the immediate superintendence of Brigadier-general Grant and Brigadier Little; all the guns which had been opposed to us, viz. (*vide* return), eight in number, falling into our hands. In this skirmish all the troops engaged behaved remarkably well; and the only fault I had to find was with their too great eagerness for attack. The rebels who were dispersed on this occasion consisted of three or four battalions of the 41st and other corps of native infantry. In the 41st the rebels had begun with much system to organise a second battalion, their recruits being dressed in a neat uniform. Their rout was complete, and it is said, apparently on good authority, that the fugitives who escaped have made for Bareilly.

"The camp was pitched, late in the evening, on the road to Futteghur, five miles from the Kalee Nuddee, where I had the pleasure of meeting Colonel Seaton, who had ridden over from Bower to report the arrival of his force and convoy in person. He was directed to make certain arrangements with the latter, and to close on Futteghur, after being joined by Brigadier Walpole. A very large stock of grain was ordered to be sent to Cawnpore, to ease that district, and lighten the labours of the commissariat, for the supply of Sir James Outram.

"On the 3rd, I marched on Futteghur, which had been deserted after the defeat of the previous day, by all the followers of the nawab. The flight of the rebels was so rapid, that they had no time to complete the destruction of the government property. It is with the utmost satisfaction I have to inform your lordship of the very large amount of stores, of the most valuable description, belonging

to the late gun and clothing agencies, which have been saved to the state. A notorious malefactor (one Najir Khan) was seized, with his guns, in the town. I caused this to be done by the inhabitants, under fear of punishment on themselves. He was executed at the principal gate, on the 4th instant. Mr. Power, civil service, has applied to me to sanction the appointment of Mr. Capper, civil service, to assist him in the Futteghur district. Mr. Power represents his new assistant as a man of much experience in these districts, and acquainted with the people. I have therefore ventured to give the sanction required, subject to your lordship's approval.

"The destruction of the nawab's palace is in process. I think it right that not a stone should be left unturned in all the residences of the rebellious chiefs. They are far more guilty than their misguided followers. A brigade will proceed to-morrow to visit two very mutinous villages, at a distance of some twenty miles from Futteghur. A garrison has been left at Mynpoorie, consisting of her majesty's 38th foot, two field battery guns, and 200 Wale's horse. This garrison will furnish the escorts from Mynpoorie to Agra, so long as such precautions are necessary. I have intimated to Colonel Fraser, the chief commissioner, North-West Provinces, that it is not expedient to leave a small detachment by itself at Etawah; but that that place should trust rather to the influence of the Mynpoorie garrison on the one side, and the last arrangements made by me in the Cawnpore district on the other. That arrangement consists of a movable column, which is now being organised by Brigadier Inglis, at Cawnpore, for the purpose of marching about the district, in aid of the civil power.

"Having reached this point, and the communication being fairly established between Calcutta and Agra, I await your lordship's further instructions.

"I have, &c.,

"C. CAMPBELL, General, Commander-in-Chief."

The necessary arrangements for the campaign in Oude—which had been retarded by the non-arrival of a powerful siege-train from Agra, and other accidental obstacles to immediate action—were at length completed; and the various divisions of the army, under their respective brigadiers, were in readiness to march simultaneously towards Lucknow. Sir Colin Campbell then, on the 4th of February, as already stated, returned to Cawnpore with a portion of the force under his immediate command; and, after a flying visit to the governor-general at Allahabad, returned to the "City of Blood," to set in motion the vast machinery he had organised, and so well knew how to manage.

At length, about the 11th of the month, all was ready for action; and part of a British army, more formidable than any that had previously taken the field against the rebels, began to cross the Ganges into Oude. It had originally been intended to effect the crossing of a portion of the

troops at Futteghur; but, for sufficient reasons, Cawnpore was ultimately selected for the passage of the whole. To increase the facilities for this important operation, a second bridge of boats was constructed; but even with this additional means, the crossing was a slow and difficult one, and occupied several days in its accomplishment, from the vast number of vehicles employed. For instance, a small portion of the ammunition only, without reference to any camp-equipage or baggage, required the assistance of 1,500 carts; and the artillery, which was on an enormous scale, comprising the siege guns, the naval brigade guns, the field guns, and those of the horse artillery, numbered not much less than 200 pieces, and extended to an immense line of march.

The following notification enumerates the component parts of the force destined to achieve the final conquest of Lucknow, under the guidance of Sir Colin Campbell:—

“Head-quarters, Camp Cawnpore, 10th Feb.

“The troops now in Oude, and those advancing into that province, are formed into divisions and brigades, and staff officers are attached as follows, the whole being under the personal command of his excellency the commander-in-chief. Such appointments as now appear for the first time, will take effect from this date.

“*Artillery Division Staff.*—Major-general Sir A. Wilson, Bart., K. C. B., Bengal artillery, commanding; Major E. B. Johnson, B. A., assistant-adjutant-general; Lieutenant R. Biddulph, R. A., deputy-adjutant, quartermaster-general; Lieutenant-colonel C. Hogge, Bengal artillery, director of artillery in the ordnance department; Captain C. H. Burchard, 20th regiment native infantry, aide-de-camp; Lieutenant H. G. Deedes, 60th royal rifles, extra aide-de-camp.

“*Brigade of Field Artillery.*—Brigadier D. E. Wood, C. B., royal horse artillery; Lieutenant S. S. Frith, Bengal horse artillery, major of brigade.

“*Brigade of Siege Artillery.*—Brigadier G. R. Barker, C. B., royal artillery; Lieutenant A. Burney, Bengal horse artillery, major of brigade; E troop royal horse artillery; F ditto; 1st troop 1st battalion Bengal horse artillery; 2nd ditto 1st ditto; 2nd ditto 3rd ditto; 3rd ditto 3rd ditto; 3rd company 14th battalion royal artillery and No. 20 light field battery; 2nd company 3rd battalion Bengal artillery and No. 20 light field battery; 3rd company 8th battalion royal artillery; 6th ditto 11th ditto; 5th ditto 12th ditto; 5th ditto 13th ditto; 4th ditto 1st battalion Bengal artillery; 1st ditto 5th ditto; 3rd ditto 5th ditto; detachment Bengal artillery recruits; the naval brigade will form part of the division under Sir A. Wilson, but will be under the immediate command of Captain W. Peel, C. B., royal navy, and independent of the brigade of siege artillery.

“*Engineer Brigade.*—Brigadier R. Napier, B. E., chief engineer; major of brigade, Lieutenant H.

Bingham, Veteran E., brigade quartermaster; Lieutenant-colonel H. D. Harness, B. E., commanding royal engineers; Captain A. Taylor, B. E., commanding Bengal engineers; 4th company royal engineers; 23rd company royal engineers; headquarters sappers and miners; Punjab sappers and miners; corps of pioneers.

“*Cavalry Division.*—Brigadier-general J. H. Grant, C. B., commanding; Captain W. Hamilton, 9th lancers, deputy-adjutant-general; Lieutenant J. S. Roberts, Bengal horse artillery, deputy-assistant-quartermaster-general; Captain the Hon. A. H. A. Anson, H. M.’s 84th regiment, aide-de-camp.

“*1st Brigade.*—Brigadier A. Little, H. M.’s 9th lancers; Captain H. A. Savel, H. M.’s 9th lancers, major of brigade.

“*2nd Brigade.*—Brigadier W. Campbell, H. M.’s 2nd dragoon guards; Captain H. Forbes, 1st light cavalry, major of brigade; H. M.’s 9th lancers; 2nd battalion military train; 2nd Punjab cavalry; detachment of 5th light cavalry; Wale’s horse; H. M.’s 2nd dragoon guards; H. M.’s 7th (Queen’s Own) hussars; volunteer cavalry; detachment P. I. cavalry; Hodson’s horse.

“*1st Infantry Division.*—Major-general Sir J. Outram, G. C. B., Bombay army, commanding; Captain D. S. Dodgson, 30th native infantry, deputy-adjutant-general; Lieutenant W. R. Moorsome, H. M.’s 52nd light infantry, deputy-assistant-quartermaster-general; Lieutenant F. E. A. Chammier, 34th native infantry, aide-de-camp; Lieutenant Hargood, 1st Madras fusiliers, extra aide-de-camp.

“*1st Brigade.*—Brigadier D. Russel, H. M.’s 84th regiment, major of brigade; H. M.’s 5th fusiliers; ditto 84th regiment 1st Madras fusiliers.

“*2nd Brigade.*—Brigadier C. Franklyne, H. M.’s 8th regiment, major of brigade; H. M.’s 78th highlanders; ditto 90th light infantry; regiment of Ferozepore.

“*2nd Division.*—Captain R. C. Stewart, H. M.’s 53rd regiment, deputy-assistant-adjutant-general, commanding; Captain D. C. Steute, deputy-assistant-quartermaster of the army, aide-de-camp.

“*3rd Brigade.*—Brigadier W. Hamilton, H. M.’s 78th highlanders; Captain G. N. Fendall, H. M.’s 53rd regiment, major of brigade; H. M.’s 34th regiment; ditto 53rd regiment.

“*4th Brigade.*—Brigadier the Hon. A. Hope, H. M.’s 93rd highlanders; Captain J. H. Cox, H. M.’s 75th regiment, major of brigade; H. M.’s 42nd highlanders; ditto 93rd ditto; 4th Punjab rifles.

“*3rd Division.*—Brigadier-general Walpole, R. B., commanding; Captain C. A. Howell, 71st native infantry, deputy-assistant-adjutant-general; Captain T. A. Carey, 17th native infantry, deputy-assistant-quartermaster-general, aide-de-camp.

“*5th Brigade.*—Brigadier Douglas, H. M.’s 79th highlanders, major of brigade; H. M.’s 23rd regiment ditto, 79th highlanders, and 1st Bengal fusiliers.

“*6th Brigade.*—(General Lugard)—Brigadier H. H. Horford, rifle brigade, major of brigade; two battalions rifle brigade; 3rd ditto ditto, and 2nd Punjab infantry; Captain C. C. Johnson, deputy-assistant-quartermaster-general, will be attached to army head-quarters. Deputy-judge-advocate-general to the force; Captain A. C. Robertson, H. M.’s 8th (the King’s) regiment; field paymaster, Captain H. C. Tombs, 13th native infantry; baggage-master, Lieutenant H. Morland, 1st Bengal

fusiliers; provost-marshal, Captain A. C. Warner, 7th light cavalry; post-master, Major C. Apthorp, 41st native infantry; superintending surgeon, J. C. Browne, M.D., B.H.A.; field-surgeon, Surgeon Wilkie; medical storekeeper, Assistant-surgeon Corbyn. All staff appointments connected with Major-general Sir J. Outram's force, not specified above, will hold good until the junction of that force with the army head-quarters. All appointments not filled up in the above orders, will be filled up under the orders of officers commanding divisions and brigades.

On the night of the 26th of February, it was announced in orders that the greater part of the troops stationed around Cawnpore, should march for Lucknow at day-break on the following morning, and that all the head-quarters' staff, except those in immediate personal attendance on Sir Colin Campbell, and on the chief of the staff, (General Mansfield) should proceed in three marches to Bunthura—a large plain on the road to Lucknow, and about nine miles from the city, and there await further orders. The following graphic description of the preparations for the march of the troops, and the advance to Bunthura, is from the pen of the *Times'* correspondent, who had joined the camp at Cawnpore on his special mission:—

"It requires but short notice in India to move a camp. For days past I had been disturbed by the gurglings and grumblings of the great internal waterworks of two huge camels which I had for the transport of my baggage, and which were picketed close to my tent. The *utile* was never so little mingled with the *dulce* as in the instance of the camel; he is a horribly necessary animal, ungainly in his gait, disagreeable in his disposition, misanthropical and dyspeptic, and teetotal in his habits; sharp and unrelenting in his bites, of unaccountable phantasies in his likings and dislikings, unreasonably susceptible of pressure and oppression—a sort of inborn animal democrat, of a querulous and morose turn of mind, and possessed of the power, which he delights to use, of making the most horrible noises with his throat, his jaws, his tongue, and his stomach. With loud protestations they submit to monstrous cruelties from their keepers, and bite innocent well-meaning people who are like to take an interest in them. They will allow, without anything more than a grunt, their leader to tear open their nostrils with a jerk of the string which is passed through the cartilage; ten to one they will spit at you spitefully if you approach to offer them a piece of bread.

They will march for days, the nose of one fastened to the tail of another in endless procession, and never seek to escape from bondage; and yet the same creatures will gnash their tushes awfully at an unhappy European who ventures to rub their rugged sides. However, they form an institution of India—possibly a part of the traditional policy—and they must be respected accordingly. I had secured for a ridiculous price a palkee gharry belonging to one of the Agra fugitives, drawn by a horse, whose special recommendation was that he had drawn this vehicle thirty miles a-day for several days previously, but who had evidently made up his mind that he had by so doing secured himself an immunity from locomotion for the rest of his natural life. A promise of a mount of an elephant also entered into the consideration of my resources, and I had furthermore the aid of a white mare, which I had bought for a high price at Cawnpore. I only enumerate these matters, as they may enable one to judge of the paraphernalia of the march in India; and I have not as yet said one word of the two other camels which were appointed to carry my tent. Under the eaves of that tent had gathered a strange population: they came as sparrows come to a house, without the knowledge or consent of the owner; but the analogy fails in other respects except noise, because the natives require to be paid. There are two men who belong to the tent-post, as in England certain gentlemen belong to horses; then there is a man to carry water, who belongs to a large skin to contain that liquid; next there is a cleaner or sweeper; then there is a *khitmutgur* (or servant), and there is his aud my master, one Simon—'an assizes man' he says himself, but he only means that he is a follower of St. Francisco d'Assisi; and then follow camel-keepers, and horse-keepers, and grass-cutters, so that I feel very much as Sancho did in his government of Barrataria.

"On the morning of the 27th, soon after midnight, commenced a tumult in camp, the like of which I never heard before; first began a loud tapping of all the tent-pegs, as if an army of gigantic woodpeckers were attacking us. This was caused by the *kélassies* (or tent-men) loosening the tent-pegs, so that they might be drawn easily from the ground when the word "to march" was given. Then followed a most hideous, grumbling, growling, roaring noise, as if

many thousands of aldermen were choking all at once, only that it was kept up for hours; that was caused by the camels objecting to the placement of the smallest article on their backs, and continuing their opposition till they stalked off with their loads. Then came the trumpeting of elephants, the squeaking of bullock-cart wheels, the hum and buzz of thousands of voices, and at last the first bugle-call, which announced that the time for turning-out had arrived. Daylight was still striving with the moonlight for mastery, and casting a sort of neutral tint over the camping-ground, on which blazed the flames of many watch-fires, when the heads of our columns began to cross the bridge of boats at Cawnpore. There was but a waste of baked earth where, at sunset, had been a camp—only a few tents belonging to the commander-in-chief and the head-quarters' staff, were left behind; and for hours the bridge echoed to the tramp of men and horses, the rumble of artillery, and to the tread of innumerable elephants and camels and oxen. The Ganges is at this season at its lowest, and the bridges are not, I should think, more than 300 yards long; one is used for the exit, the other for the entrance of Cawnpore. They lead to a level sandy plain, overflowed by the Ganges for several hundred yards in the rainy season, on which there were now moving, as far as the eye could reach, the strings of baggage animals and the commissariat carts of the army, with their fantastic followers. The road has been much cut up by the passage of artillery, and in some places is only to be distinguished from the land at each side by the flanking line of telegraph-posts. The country, as we go on, is as level as a bowling-green, but on all sides the horizon is bounded by the groves of mangoes. The country is green with early corn; but close to the roadside the presence of our hosts has made itself visible, and the trees are stripped of their branches, and the fields trampled and brown, the young crops being used as food for animals, and the boughs and branches as provender for elephants and camels. The villages by the roadside, built of mud, but rather better than those in Bengal, were deserted and in ruins, and, except in the wake of the army, not a soul was visible. The dust flew in clouds—a light choking powder, which filled eyes and lungs and mouth, and rendered all the senses unpleasant. It was with great satisfaction, therefore, that I learnt, after a

little purgatory of some three and a-half hours, that we were approaching Oonao (pronounced Olnow), where Havelock fought and beat the enemy on two successive occasions in his advances to Lucknow. It is about eleven miles from Cawnpore, and it presents an irregular outline of mud houses, with high mud walls, which in the distance looked like those of a fortress. Above them peer the minarets of some small mosques, and there are thick groves of mangoes and orchard trees all around it. The road passes it on the left; and in half-an-hour more we saw before us a wide plain, destitute of trees, over which the crowds of vultures and kites that ever follow a camp were wheeling in great flocks, telling us that we were near our resting-place. Through the clouds of dust we could distinguish our tents in the distance, and, passing through multitudes of transport animals and parks of carriages of all sorts, we found our tents all ready for us, each man with his peculiar residence pitched on its own plot of ground, and all the interior apparatus arranged just as it was when he walked out of it in the morning. The mess tent, not the least important of the mansions of this canvas city, was ready also with its crowd of white-robed, black-faced, mute attendants, its curious dishes, and its warmest Allsopp. Camels and hackeries and elephants came pouring in all day till late at night, and the sun set through a thick veil of dust, through which might be seen dimly the fleet of camels steering their course steadily along the line of the main road towards Lucknow.

"Feb. 28th.—This morning was very like yesterday morning: if possible, there was more noise and dust. The first bugles went at two o'clock, and at 3.30 the camp was struck, and the force under Walpole was again in motion. It was a strange scene—not to be described or imagined. The moon was shining brightly on the vast array, which, when in motion, became comparatively silent; but the ground, indeed, thundered with the beat of many feet, and now and then the shrill neigh of a charger provoked a thousand responses. The camels, looming to a gigantic size in the light, passed noiselessly like spectres. As we approached the road—narrow for such a host—the clamour uprore again, and dhoolies, hackeries, ox-carts, and baggage animals became involved in immense confusion, which was not diminished by the efforts of the baggage guard to restore order by com-

mands issued in the vernacular, and enforced now and then by the aid of a musket stock. At last we got into files upon the road, and rode on in clouds of dust. Presently in front we heard the joyous clash of a brass band, playing a quick step, and, getting off the road, we managed to join our old friends of the rifle brigade, and renewed acquaintanceship with talk of old marches in the Crimea. As the sun rose upon one side and the moon set upon the other, the spectacle assumed a weird, unearthly aspect, which not all the hard reality around us could quite destroy. We were marching over historic ground. We trod the very earth which had felt the tread of Havelock and Outram's gallant little columns, and before us were positions made memorable by their valour. Oonao was succeeded by Busheerut-gunge; and at every few hundred yards spots were pointed out, even trees identified, as the places where 'We caught sight of the enemy's sowars,' or 'where Havelock gave the men such a wiggling for straggling a little in the ranks.' Through dust and smothering pillars of pulverised earth we went on; but, fast as we went, we heard that an hour before, Sir Colin, with General Mansfield and a small staff, accompanied by his little escort of irregular horse and a solitary English lancer, had dashed on towards Bunthura. They had started from Cawnpore soon after midnight, and at a swinging gallop had passed through the regiments on the march. It was nearly eight o'clock in the morning when we debouched upon another wide plain, passing the camp of another battalion of the rifle brigade and some Punjabee infantry, and pitched our tents at Nuwabgunge for the day. The heat was very great, and as there was nothing to see but clouds of dust, nothing to feel but dust—dust everywhere, in eyes, in nose, on clothes, in tea, on plates, on meat and bread, in water, in the tent, outside the tent,—I was glad of a fit of fatigue which enabled us to sleep through several hours of the fervour of the sun.

"March 1st.—First bugle at 2 A.M. Second bugle at three. Turn out. The same noise, and more dust. The moon, however, was barred with black clouds this time, and half the stars were covered with a veil, through which flashed the lightnings incessantly. A storm was gathering rapidly; and scarcely were the tents down and we half a mile away, when the thunder was rolling over us, and the pattering of rain was heard on

the ground. There was a sight this morning to enchant and to defy the painter—the sky in one place twinkling, clear, and azure, with stars innumerable; in another, covered with a pall of dense rolling masses scarred incessantly by lightning, through which now and then the moon revealed herself in diminished glory; and, in the east, the horizon just flushing with the first hues of early morning. I was rather rudely disenchanted. My horse, frightened by the lightning, began to take alarm at elephants, at camels, at dhoolies; and at length, tired out by his fretfulness, I determined to give him a good run across the plain. Scarcely had I put spurs into him when I perceived a dark line on the plain in front of me. I tried a pull at his head. I might as well have taken a pull at a locomotive, and so I rode him straight at this dark line, which grew darker and higher as I approached it, and in another instant went smash down into the bottom of a deep trench. As the horse rolled over I managed to get clear of him, and he flew away along the trench till it opened upon the plain, when he dashed off, saddle, bridle, and all. I was so little hurt that I was able in a few minutes to get upon a camel on which was seated an excellent friend of mine, who came to my succour, and so I rode into the camp at Bunthura."

The departure of the commander-in-chief for Lucknow was, as already observed, retarded firstly by the non-arrival of a convoy with a siege train, and a number of women and children from Agra, who were *en route* for Allahabad; and, secondly, by the slow movements of the Ghoorkas under Jung Bahadoor. At length, on the 23rd of February, the convoy, with the long imprisoned and involuntary residents of the fort at Agra, reached Cawnpore, and were received with hearty welcome into the intrenchments near the city, which by that time, had been rendered almost impregnable. These persons were quickly forwarded on their way by the Great Trunk-road to Allahabad, and one great source of anxiety was thus removed from the mind of the commander-in-chief; since for some time previous, the equivocal situation of those ladies and their little ones had been a most embarrassing ingredient in his calculations.*

* Mr. Russell in his graphic delineation of events, gives the following humorous sketch of some of the difficulties Sir Colin Campbell had to contend with:

Various were the opinions in the English camp at this time, as to the probable results of the approaching contest. Some were inclined to believe that the sepoys would fight for their lives when the day of the assault should arrive, with desperation, if not with success, and that the matchlockmen would leave them to fight the dreaded battle alone. Others reversed the hypothesis; but all were agreed that the fight must be one of fierce and exterminating fury on both sides. It was known, as already stated, that intestine feuds raged within the city, and that the councils of the enemy were distracted by the terrible seriousness of the circumstances around them; but the rebel government still maintained some form of order, and held frequent durbars, at which expedients of all kinds were resorted to, to alarm and exasperate the inhabitants against the British rule. Among other measures, placards were posted in all the streets, informing the people that the English had sworn to murder every man, woman, and child in the place, and calling upon them to defend their lives to the last; it being certain that they could not secure safety by cowardice. A report was also promulgated, that the soldiers had received orders to spare no one within the city; and that, very recently, at Meangunge, they had abused, and afterwards killed, all the women whom they found in the place.

At daybreak, on the morning of the 2nd of March, the commander-in-chief, with his personal staff, left the camp at Bunthura,

and marched towards Lucknow, taking with him the whole of the 2nd division, under Major-general Lugard,* and the cavalry force (with the exception of some small parties and detachments on duty with the camp). On the following day, the Dilkosha was occupied, after a slight effort at resistance, in which Colonel Little was wounded; and here the chief established his head-quarters, while the several brigadiers brought their troops to the assigned positions. On the 6th of the month, Major-general Sir James Outram, leaving the Alumbagh under sufficient protection, crossed the Goomtee with 6,000 men and thirty guns, by two pontoon bridges thrown over the river for the purpose, and entered upon a very careful and leisurely *reconnaissance* of the country between the bridge and the village of Chinhut, being closely watched by the scouts of the enemy, who hung like a cloud on his left flank. Leaving Chinhut on the left, he advanced for about three miles along the Fyzabad-road, intending, after he had selected his camping ground, to make a detour on the right, and reconnoitre Maryon, the old cantonments of Lucknow, where two divisions of the enemy were reported to be stationed. Before this, however, could be accomplished, the force was attacked by the enemy, who were driven off with considerable loss. The English division suffered little, numerically; but Major Smith, of the queen's bays, a gallant officer, was amongst the slain upon the occasion. On attempting a forward

"At Lucknow he was in a fever at the various small delays which they considered necessary, and, courteous as he is to women, he, for once, was obliged to be 'a little stern' when he found the dear creatures a little unreasonable. In order to make a proper effect, most of the ladies came out in their best gowns and bonnets. Whether 'Betty gave the cheek' a little touch of red or not, I cannot say, but I am assured the array of fashion, though somewhat behind the season, owing to the difficulty of communicating with the Calcutta *modistes*, was very creditable. Sir Colin got fidgety when he found himself made a *maître d'étiquette* and an *arbitre morum* among piles of bandboxes, 'best bonnets,' and 'these few little clothes trunks;' but he sustained his position with unflinching fortitude, till at length, when he thought he had 'seen the last of them' out of the place, two young ladies came trippingly in, whisked about the residency for a short time, and then, with nods and smiles, departed, saying graciously, 'We'll be back again presently.' 'No ladies, no; you'll be good enough to do nothing of the kind,' exclaimed he; 'you have been here quite long enough, I am sure, and I have had quite enough trouble in getting you out of it. The Agra ladies ought to have been ready long ago. They

were warned over and over again, but—Well, it's the old story.' It is rather a joke—too common to be appreciated—to keep a husband waiting while 'one is putting on one's bonnet;' but when the cares of the toilette prove an obstacle which an army cannot overcome, which frustrate strategic combinations, delay great sieges, and affect the fortunes of a whole campaign, it is sufficient to make generals, at all events, wish that good Mother Eve's earlier style was now in fashion among her daughters.

* This division consisted of the 3rd and 4th brigades of the army of Oude, and comprised the 38th, 42nd, 53rd, and 93rd regiments; part of the 34th and the 4th regiments of Punjab rifles. Most of the regiments were in a highly efficient state, but the highlanders were most conspicuous, not only for their costume but for their steady and martial air, on parade and in the field. An eye-witness says of the latter corps—"As they marched off in the early grey of the morning, with the pipes playing 'The Campbells are coming,' one caught a vision of the interior of Lucknow through the dancing sheen of their arms; the chief inspected them and seemed proud of his countrymen;" and it was only natural he should be so.

movement, a second attack was made, which was repulsed with still greater loss; the cavalry pursuing and sabring some hundreds of the fugitive rebels. It was, by this time, late in the day, and as the men had been under arms since three in the morning; it was resolved to bivouac for the night, on the plain of Chinhut, which, on the 30th of the preceding June, had been the scene of the late Sir Henry Lawrence's defeat, through the treachery of his native artillery drivers.*

The night passed without annoyance from the enemy, but early on the following morning, they again made their appearance, and after half-an-hour's fighting, were driven off, multitudes of them being cut up by the lancers in their flight. Major-general Outram then marched upon, and invested the Chukkur Kothi, or King's Race-house; but as the place was commanded by the enemy's guns, it was not considered tenable until a breaching battery against the city could be established. In the afternoon of the 8th, another attack was made by the enemy with the usual result, and the same day the commander-in-chief visited the camp at Chinhut, to ascertain personally the state of affairs across the river. The duty of further *reconnaissance* now devolved upon General Hope Grant, who made a wide sweep to the north-east, but encountered no resistance; and in his absence Sir James Outram was again attacked by the enemy in great force, who were driven off, but not before they had inflicted serious loss upon the English troops. The next day (the 9th) the Chukkur Kothi was carried by Sir James, with all the buildings and gardens round it; an exploit by which he was enabled to turn and enfilade the canal which formed the first great line of works of the enemy. The principal casualties resulting to the British force upon this occasion, occurred in the pursuit of the sepoys through the dark rooms and passages of the buildings, as the latter from their hiding places, could see their pursuers advance, and fire at them before they were aware of their danger. While Outram was thus dealing with the enemy from across the river on the 9th, Sir Colin Campbell advanced from the Dilkoosha, and captured, with trifling loss, and but slight opposition, the Martinière. On the 11th, General Outram pushed his advance as far as the iron bridge, and established batteries by which he commanded the

passage of the stone bridge also, and on the afternoon of the same day, the begum's palace was stormed by a brigade of the 93rd highlanders, the 4th Punjab infantry, and 1,000 Ghoorkas, all of whom behaved with great gallantry. Major Hodson, who had rendered himself conspicuous as the captor and prompt executioner of the Delhi princes, accompanied the storming party as a volunteer, and was wounded in the stomach by a grape shot, from the effects of which he died on the 12th, to the great regret of the whole army. The Imaumbarra, a magnificent building erected by a former king of Oude to the memory of the twelve patriarchs of the Mohammedan faith, and which had been converted into a formidable stronghold, was breached and stormed at nine A.M. on the 14th; and the storming columns pursued their advantage so closely, that they entered the Kaiserbagh with the flying enemy, and after a very inconsiderable resistance, obtained possession of it. This palace had been looked upon by the Oude troops as their citadel, which they were bound to defend to the last extremity, and it had consequently been strongly fortified with defensive works, and was mined in all directions. It, however, fell before the impetuous onslaught of the British troops, and its loss so much disheartened the enemy, that they seemed to abandon any idea of further resistance; throughout the night the discomfited rebels streamed out of the city by the stone bridge, and great multitudes of the inhabitants with their property, managed also to escape; but that means of exit was speedily closed to them, and Brigadier Hope Grant, with the whole of the cavalry and horse artillery, on the left bank of the river, was ordered to pursue the fugitives, some thousands of whom, nevertheless, managed to escape in the directions of Sundeela, Seetapore, and Fyzabad, to the infinite chagrin of our troops. On the 16th, Sir James Outram received instructions to clear the Chuttur Munzil, Motee Mahal, the ruins of the Residency, and the iron and stone bridges, on the right bank of the river; and Douglas's brigade, consisting of the 79th highlanders, 23rd Welsh fusiliers, and the 1st Bengal fusiliers, were marched across the river by the floating bridge below the Badshabagh, and with artillery and a portion of the 4th dragoons in support, took up ground near the begum's palace, till the moment came for the attack. A

* See *ante*, p. 6.

heavy bombardment and fire were maintained from daybreak on the 16th, on portions of the city near the stone bridge, and a rumour spread that the begum had appealed to Sir James Outram to suspend his proceedings, in reply to which she was invited to come in and surrender herself to the government; and at the same time, facilities were offered to her for compliance, by suspending the attack upon the stone bridge, that it might not endanger her movements; but as the morning advanced, it became evident that her majesty either could not, or would not trust herself into the hands of the English generals. The hour at length arrived for active operations, and the troops pressed on, but most of the buildings in which the rebels were expected to be met with, had been abandoned, and they had retreated to houses beyond the ruins of the residency, and close to the south side of the iron bridge, which they appeared inclined to defend. The houses and palaces between the iron and stone bridges, being also occupied by them in force; the line of march lay through the same buildings by which Sir Colin Campbell had, a few months before, led out the garrison of Lucknow; and the courts and halls of palace after palace, echoed to the tread of the avenging phalanx, as the grim stern British soldiery threaded the mazes of the Lall Bagh, the Furra Buksh, and Chuttur Munzil, until at length they came out upon a large space in front of the Bailly Guard, whose pierced gateway, one shattered turret, and some tottering walls, were mere heaps of rubbish, surrounded by the remains of a trench. As the troops emerged from the Chuttur Munzil, they found the 20th regiment waiting for them, in reserve, in case they were needed. The residency grounds, and the iron bridge, were quickly in the possession of the troops, who then turned their guns against the stone bridge, across which the enemy, horse and foot, men, women and children, were still endeavouring to escape. Passing the Muchee Bowun, a fine building which was blown up by Sir Henry Lawrence to clear ground for his guns, the troops entered a broad avenue with magnificent arched gateways, and turning sharp to the left, came in front of the Imaumbarra, a grand and simple fronted edifice with a noble mosque, ample squares, and magnificent flights of marble steps, broad esplanades, and gardens once sparkling with fountains. After a short pause, only

interrupted by an occasional shot, from individuals secreted in the various nooks of the building, the men of the 79th regiment proceeded to install themselves in the great saloon, and the whole structure was at their mercy. The day's proceedings were most satisfactory, and by midnight the whole of the city along the river's bank, was in the hands of the British. Up to this period it was computed that upwards of eighty guns had been captured, and at least 3,000 of the enemy had fallen.

On the morning of the 17th, Sir James Outram received instructions to endeavour to take possession of a large isolated building near the river, on the extreme west of the city; and his column thereupon proceeded without interruption through the streets, until the object was accomplished. At the same time Jung Bahadoor's troops were advancing from the south: but were stoutly opposed by the enemy, who, with a considerable force of infantry and guns, and some horse, suddenly advanced to attack the Ghocrkas, and after a hard fight, took up a strong position in their front. The Jung, however, turned their flank and put them to flight with great loss, capturing ten guns. By this fortunate result, Sir James Outram was enabled to open communications halfway across the city, and measures were at once taken to check the plunder and outrages of the camp followers, for which purpose the following order was issued by the commander-in-chief:—

"Twenty-five men of her majesty's 9th lancers under a sub-officer are immediately to be sent into the town for the purpose of checking plundering. The party will be under the orders of Brigadier-general Lugard, to whom the officer will report himself.

"With a still further view of checking plundering, Brigadier-general Lugard will send out strong patrols continually, day and night, until the present license ceases. These patrols are to be commanded by officers."

During this day a deplorable accident, which involved the death or disabling of many brave men, who had escaped injury in their encounters with the enemy, occurred from an explosion of gunpowder, under the following unfortunate circumstances. By Sir James Outram's orders, several thousand pounds of powder, a part in tin cases, and the remainder in skins, were carried in carts to a deep well, for the purpose of being thrown to the bottom of it, to be out of the way of mischief. As the first case

was thrown down, a rush of fire burst from the well, and blew up the cases in the nearest cart; the explosion, with the swiftness of lightning, leaped from cart to cart, singeing and burning all the men engaged in the duty. Two officers, Captain Eliot Brownlow, B.E., and Captain Clarke, R.E., with sixteen European sappers and thirty Sikhs, were carried to the hospital tents, and several Sikhs were also killed on the spot. Of this hapless party all died.

On the 17th, it was announced in orders, that Major-general Sir Archdale Wilson, of Delhi, K.C.B., would leave the camp on medical certificate. His mental and physical energies had been prostrated by incessant labour and fatigue before Delhi, and a fall from his horse, on the day the Martinière was taken, so much shook his frame, that he was reluctantly compelled to resign his command. On the following day (the 18th), the Ghoorkas, under the command of Jung Bahadoor, advanced from their position; and, in the face of a tremendous fire, penetrated into and occupied the suburb adjacent to the Charbagh bridge. By this operation, which was effected with a gallantry that elicited the warm encomium of the commander-in-chief, the Ghoorkas obtained possession of an important quarter of the town lying between the palaces and the canal, and added seventeen guns, of various calibre, to the trophies already won from the disheartened and despairing rebels. This advantage, moreover, was obtained with scarcely any loss to the captors. It was immediately after this success, that one of those interesting episodes occurred which were of so frequent occurrence during the war of the revolt, and it arose under the following circumstances.

Of the many individuals who were missing from bereaved European families at different periods of the insurrection, several remained for many months undiscovered, while wandering from place to place, in hourly peril, or enduring an imprisonment more terrible than death, in the scattered strongholds of their vindictive enemies. Rumour, fitful and vague, would occasionally reach the European garrisons, that one or other of the mourned was still in existence; but for many of the lost ones hope had been long extinct. Among such, for a considerable period, were a party of English officials and their families, who had barely escaped with life from the outbreak at Seetapore, on the 3rd of June, 1857.*

The fugitives comprised the civil commissioner of Seetapore, Mr. Christian, with his wife and infant daughter; Sir Mountstuart Jackson and two sisters; Captain Patrick Orr, his wife and daughter; Lieutenant Burnes, Sergeant-major Morton, and the wife and children of a European sergeant, who was absent with a detachment at the time. The heroic conduct, and chivalrous self-denial of Lieutenant Burnes, in his noble but vain efforts to save the little girl (Christian), whose father had been cruelly murdered by the mutineers, is already upon record,† and will be admired so long as heroism and manly feeling are appreciated on earth. Sir Mountstuart Jackson, in his flight, had two sisters to protect. The eldest, a beautiful girl, was separated from him in the first confusion of the outbreak, and was carried off with some other European ladies to a fort of one of the Oude chiefs. Sir M. Jackson himself, his youngest sister, Captain Patrick Orr, Mrs. Orr and infant, Lieutenant Burnes, Sergeant-major Morton, and Miss Christian, were taken by Lonee Singh, a powerful zemindar in Oude, to his stronghold at Mitawlee. The unfortunate Captain Orr, who, in former days, had been a personal friend of Lonee Singh, to the extent of becoming his surety for reuts due to the late king, amounting to a lac of rupees (£10,000), naturally looked for gentlemanly treatment from one so much indebted to him for past kindness; but the first act of the ruffian, on getting possession of his victims, was to put the whole of the men in irons, although the wife of Captain Orr fell at the feet of the ingrate, and endeavoured to recall to his memory the obligation he owed to her husband. Subsequently the rigour and torment of captivity in his hands became unendurable, and two of the gentlemen (Jackson and Burnes) were goaded to madness. Their gaoler was engaged in a work of extermination, and no pleading could divert him from his purpose. At length, after subjecting his prisoners to the most brutal treatment for several weeks, Lonee Singh sold them to the begum for 8,000 rupces; and they were accordingly transferred to the custody of that personage, whose cruelty was not less vindictive than that of their former tormentor. The prisoners were now separated, although the whole party were confined in the palace at Lucknow. Here, at the first sound of the guns of Sir Colin Campbell, in November,

* See vol. i., p. 203.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 203-4.

the unfortunate gentlemen were brought from their prison-house, and murdered; while the victorious shouts of the relieving troops yet rang in their ears. This atrocious act was perpetrated at the instigation of the moulvie of Fyzabad, whose forfeited life had been spared at the outset of the rebellion, on the strength of some legal informality, and who thus displayed his gratitude to the countrymen of his preservers. The ladies were, now upon the intercession of Maun Singh, removed from their first prison, and placed in charge of officers belonging to the household of the begum, but were still supposed to be confined in an apartment of the palace. At length, by an accident, information was received of the existence of one of the ladies, and a communication was opened by means of the vakeel of the brother of Captain Orr, who was in the garrison at Alumbagh. Through this person Mrs. Orr wrote to her brother-in-law, to describe her condition, and appeal for his aid. This lady stated that she had been compelled to adopt native clothing, and, with her child, and Miss Jackson, were shut up in an apartment so low, that they could only sit or lie down in it. She expressed her gratitude for the kindness with which Maun Singh had protected them so long as he could do so, and for the efforts he had promised to make for their liberation; but she wrote as fearing the worst.

Almost immediately after the successful attack of Jung Bahadoor upon the Charbagh, two of the British officers attached to the Ghoorka force, Captain McNeill, Bengal artillery, and Lieutenant Boyle, of the same corps, set out to explore some deserted streets in front of their advanced posts, when they were encountered by a native, who said he was one of Sir James Outram's *employés*, and besought their protection for his house and property. In the course of conversation, he mentioned, incidentally, that he knew where the English ladies were confined, and offered to point out the place. Almost immediately afterwards, another native appeared, and presented two notes; one from Mrs. Orr, the other from Miss Jackson, imploring immediate succour, as their enemies were making search for them. The officers at once returned to the nearest Ghoorka post, and called for volunteers. Forty or fifty willing fellows stepped out of the ranks; and, with the native before them, as a guide, started off at a rapid pace to the rescue. They proceeded for more

than half a mile through the silent, winding streets, expecting, at every turn, to receive a volley; and at length came to a house apparently shut up and abandoned. "This is the house," said the guide. The door was instantly burst open; and at the noise of the entering party, the owner, Meer Wajeed Ali, a daroga of the court, made his appearance; and learning the object of the intruders, began to stipulate upon terms; but Captain McNeill cut the affair short, by demanding the instant and unconditional production of the European ladies in his custody. Finding that to procrastinate was simply to bring a dozen kookrees in unpleasant contact with his throat, the daroga led the officers to an obscure and miserable apartment, wherein two ladies, in oriental costume, had shrunk terrified into a dark corner. At the unexpected sound of the question, "Are you the English ladies, and do you wish to leave this place?" those to whom it was addressed were not able to reply from excessive joy; and for a short time, they were speechless with thankfulness and emotion. But there was no time to be lost, as the Moulvie and his followers were known to be searching for them. The ladies, clad as they were, descended to the street, and were about to be placed on the horses belonging to the two officers, when Captain McNeill observed a palanquin in the court of the house. At the moment the ladies approached, some budmashes, with drawn swords, sallied from an adjacent building, to attack the party; but a few shots from a revolver, and the knives of the Ghoorkas, speedily put an end to this obstruction; and six of the daroga's retainers being impressed for the service of palanquin bearers, the ladies, escorted by a part of the volunteer force engaged in their rescue, moved rapidly off, the speed of the bearers being greatly accelerated by the ready bayonets around them; and thus, in a short time, they reached the advanced post of the Ghoorkas, and were in safety.

The two ladies were shortly afterwards comfortably lodged in a house near Banks' bungalow, in the old residency; but, for a long time, they showed, by anxious and agitated demeanour, the prostrating effects of their long captivity. Their lives had, indeed, been spared, but they were watched night and day by armed guards, who did not refrain from using gross and insulting language towards them, and whose constant delight it was to tell them of the outrages

and massacres which were taking place throughout India, before and during the period of their captivity. Their lives had been, doubtless, preserved by order of the daroga, that he might secure his personal safety, in case the British became masters of the city; and for this purpose, he had contrived, at a late period of the attack, to have them secreted in his house; where, day by day, they lived in expectation of death by torture, or even a worse fate.

Upon this interesting subject, it may be permitted to refer to a letter published in the *Bombay Standard*. The communication from which the extract is taken, is dated "Lucknow, March the 20th;" and its authority is vouched for:—"But how shall I essay to convey to you an idea of the feelings which the recovery of our dear captives has caused me? With Mrs. Orr I was not acquainted: but you know the obligations under which I lie to Mr. Jackson, and the deep, tender affection which both my wife and myself bore to his dear nephew and nieces. When the disturbances commenced, Sir Henry Lawrence, who had insisted on our continuing to live with *him*, when Mr. Jackson left, authorised us to send for the girls, Mrs. Christian, and one or two others, and planted escorts for them on the road. But, alas! our letters never reached them. The Seetapore mutiny had broken out. Christian and Mrs. Christian were murdered, and Mountstuart and his dear sisters were fugitives. The two girls got separated. The sweet, gentle, fragile Georgina was taken in charge by John Hearsey, and after much dreadful suffering, was, with other prisoners, cruelly murdered within sight of the residency. We saw the deed from the residency turrets, but knew not who were the victims on the 23rd of September—dear Madeline—that bright-eyed, light-hearted, merry, loving Madeline—after still more fearful dangers, sufferings, and privations, was brought along with Mrs. Orr, Sir Mountstuart, young Burnes, Captain P. Orr, little Sophy Christian, and little Missy Orr, into the Kaiserbagh, on the 26th of October. On the 17th of November, the gentlemen were executed; and since then, who shall tell the anguish of the ladies? Poor little Sophy Christian succumbed at length; she died of fever. Dear little Louisa Orr was got out on the 4th of this month, and the two poor ladies alone remained. I cannot master my feelings sufficiently to tell you at present of all

they had to endure. Suffice it to say that—barring the *last* outrage—they were subjected to almost every indignity that a set of cowardly, black-hearted, and foul-mouthed devils could offer. But God was with the dear creatures in their captivity. He sent his Holy Spirit to console them; most marvellously did he interpose all his almighty power in their behalf on one occasion. Their greatest privation was that of God's Word: their Bibles had been taken from them. In vain had they endeavoured to procure even a Testament; and they were compelled to rely on their memories for their scriptural exercises. At length, in answer to their reiterated and earnest entreaties for a little medicine for poor little Sophy Christian, a powder was sent, wrapped up in a small dirty piece of paper, torn from the corner of an English book. To our dear friends, the smallest scrap of print was indeed a treat; and, on examining it, they found it to be literally a God-send. It contained verses 12 and 13, and part of verse 14, of the fifty-first chapter of Isaiah; these are the blessed words that their God thus miraculously sent to our dear countrywomen in their extremity: "I, even I, am He that comforteth you. Who art thou that thou shouldst be afraid of a man that shall die, and of the son of man, that shall be made as grass? And forgettest the Lord thy Maker, that hath stretched forth the heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth; *and hast feared continually every day because of the fury of the oppressor*. The captive exile hasteneth that he may be loosed," &c. Have you, in the whole course of your life, seen or read of a more wonderful instance of God speaking to and comforting His elect in the midst of their tribulation? I confess, that were I to read of such a thing in a newspaper, or even in a religious biography, I would not believe it. But as surely as I pen these words—as surely as I shall have to answer God at the great day, I have seen and read, and with grateful adoration kissed, the blessed fragment of God's word above quoted, which carried comfort to our dear friends in the Kaiserbagh, and sustained their faith at a time hell had put forth its whole powers to induce them to curse God and die. I rejoice to say that, though weak, and not altogether free from ailment, the dear, noble-minded creatures are likely, in a few weeks, to recover their former health and vigour. May that All-merciful Being who has hither-

to so wonderfully preserved and sustained them, continue to watch over their comings in and their goings out. I can write no more. I am quite beside myself with joy. And yet it all appears to me so like a dream, that I am constantly going over to see them, to be certain there is no delusion."

The following series of extracts from the letters of officers in the camp of the commander-in-chief, supply many interesting facts, and will form a continuous narrative of important events connected with the recapture of Lucknow. The first extract is from a communication dated the 10th of March, in which the writer says:—"We took the Martinière yesterday almost without a struggle and with very little loss, some eight or nine killed and wounded. The enemy may more properly be said to have run out of it, than to have been driven out of it, for they never allowed our men to come near them. No guns were captured, nor were many dead bodies found, either in the Martinière or in the line of earthworks in its rear, which also fell into our hands. The game seems to be up with the sepoys. They give us no trouble. The only sign of vitality they exhibit is the keeping up a wild, irregular, ill-directed, harmless fire of cannon, musketry, and matchlocks. Our movement to advance, is invariably their signal to retreat. Captain Peel, R. N., was wounded yesterday in the batteries, a flesh wound in the upper part of the thigh. With General Outram's force, which is making great progress on the other side, *i.e.* the cantonment side of the river, one officer, Major Smith, of the 2nd Dragoon guards has been killed, and one, *viz.*, Captain St. George of the Bengal fusiliers, dangerously wounded. If we are to credit some of our camp quidnuncs, Outram has got into the Residency, but the more cautious put it down as a shave. General Franks arrived on the 4th of March, having had a slight skirmish with the rebels, whom his skirmishers pursued into a small fort, in attempting to take which Ensign Smith, H. M. 97th, was mortally wounded. His (General Franks') officers speak highly of the skill with which he handles his men. Jung Bahadoor, it is expected, will arrive to-morrow. Lucknow will soon be in our possession."

The following extract is from a letter, dated Lucknow, March 11th, from an officer with Brigadier Franks' column:—"I must write to you to-night, although I am

quite tired, having been out the greater part of the day, and have to be up again early, as we go to picket at the Secunderbagh to-morrow morning, and will most likely be there all day and the following night. The siege is going on vigorously, and to-day we took the begum's palace, after an obstinate resistance by Pandey. His position was surprisingly strong, and good soldiers alone could have done what was performed to-day in so short a time. The 93rd had the brunt of it, and steady good fellows they are. All praise to them; their loss, I fear, has been heavy. As our guns galloped up into action, we saw a string of dhoolies going away, two of the Highlanders put their heads out and hurraed, calling out, 'Go at them.' The musketry firing was very heavy; our men cheered and went at the place in good earnest, but were received by volleys from loopholes, that did not, however, prevent them from tumbling down a deep and wide trench encircling the place, and scrambling up on the other side, and going in wherever there was an opening. The brutes had an eighteen-pounder just beyond, which commanded the road and stopped our progress. One of our guns was sent for, and afterwards two heavy guns of the naval brigade came and silenced the fire; but we were all the time under heavy musketry fire, and the place was taken when we left. The Secunderbagh was taken without opposition. I hear Pandey's picket marched to occupy it at the same time as ours did, the former politely giving us possession by taking to their heels. Poor Hodson of the irregular horse, who guaranteed, it is said, the king of Delhi's life, was mortally wounded; he was brave to a fault, as most of our irregular cavalry officers are. It is amusing to hear some old officers talk of days gone by, and what they have done, and the men of their day could do. I think there is as much pluck in the British officer now as there ever was. Two officers of the 93rd, I am sorry to say, were killed. The shelling and firing are going on, and will doubtless continue night and day. The Pandies, it is said, are bolting to Rohilkund; at any rate, from to-day's resistance enough must be left to fight it out. The Kaiserbagh is reported to be strongly entrenched and fortified, and there Pandey will make his last stand. I believe it is to undergo shelling from all our heavy guns. The rebels have fortified themselves well in every direction, and with pluck could defy us, but the cheer

and dash are too much for the gentle Hindoo, whose heart then begins to fail him. He likes the old adage, 'He that fights and runs away, lives to fight another day.' The begum, it is said, intends to defend her palace to the last."

The next communication is dated the 12th March:—"Outram's force has cleared all the other side of the river as far as the stone bridge, and his guns and mortars, by firing into the enemy's defences in flank and reverse, have been of the greatest possible use to the commander-in-chief's force on its advance to the different posts. There has been an almost incessant cannonade for the last three days and nights, and it is still going on. The chief yesterday evening had got as far as the Shah Mujif, and this morning has, I fancy, taken the Motee Mahal, but I don't know this for certain. Yesterday afternoon the 93rd highlanders and 4th Sikhs, advanced with deafening cheers and a tremendous musketry fire, and took a place called the Begum's Palace, a little in advance of Banks' House. It was an immensely strong place, with three lines of loopholed walls, and a large ditch. About fifty of the sepoys (some of the 22nd amongst the number) were killed here, the others having bolted. Major McDonald of the 93rd was killed, and another officer of the same regiment, of the name of Sergison. You will be sorry to hear that poor Moorsom was shot dead at the head of the iron bridge yesterday afternoon. Hodson has been very badly hit through the groin, and I believe Dale has been sent for, and gone to supply his place, he taking the Chukkur Kotee on the 9th. Six Pandies, who could not escape, defended the lower rooms, and killed Anderson of the Sikhs, and Lieutenant George of the 1st Bengal fusiliers, besides four privates of the same, and two Sikhs, and wounded five others, total thirteen, before they were themselves polished off. Outram's force is too weak to leave a party at the stone bridge (his head-quarters being at present at the Chukkur Kotee) but he has left cavalry to the westward of the old cantonment to intercept any who may try to escape in that direction, *viâ* the stone bridge. He surprised the camp of a chief (I forget his name) who was on his way to Lucknow, killed some of his men, and captured two of his guns near the Gaon ghât, far beyond the stone bridge. Jung Bahadoor is, or was with the commander-in-chief, but I

have no idea where his forces are, Franks' Ghorkas are encamped at different places between Dilkoosha and Jellalabad, some of them also hold Bauks' house. Brasyer's Sikhs and the 84th hold the Dilkoosha; the 32nd and 8th, and Blunt's battery arrived here yesterday morning."

Another letter, also dated the 12th March, says:—"There have only been two casualties to-day in our whole force, I believe, but the operations of the day have consisted chiefly in battering away with the heavy guns at the Motee Mahal and mess-house defence. There is a report here that the mess-house has been taken, but I don't think it is the case. General Outram's force on the other side, has been of the greatest service, by taking all the enemy's defences in flank or reverse. It will cross by the stone bridge, and possibly make for the Residency. It has a heavy battery at the iron bridge, to command the stone bridge; it has also two other heavy batteries, and one mortar battery, at different posts along the bank of the Goomtee. The chief's force has a mortar battery at the Begum's Palace, which was stormed yesterday evening by the 93rd highlanders, and 4th Punjabees. It is about 800 yards from the Kaiserbagh. Poor Hodson died this afternoon, from the effect of the wound he unfortunately received yesterday. There has been an almost incessant war of cannon for the last three days and nights, and at this minute the mortars are firing away as hard as they can. The Pandies are becoming compressed within the limits of their defences around the Kaiserbagh, and it is only to be hoped that Outram's force may be enabled to cut off their retreat into the city, and then there will be no escape for them. I am afraid, however, that many of them will bolt in the course of to-night and to-morrow. The road to the westward is open to them; we are doing all we can with our cavalry, to prevent escape from, or supplies being taken into the city, by our left, and as for three to four miles within which distance the old Cawnpore road is, they will be well looked after. They have shown a very strong disposition to attack us here all to-day, and after repeated rounds of shrapnell being sent amongst them they dispersed both this morning and this evening. They are not nearly so strong in one point as they were, and have removed most of their guns. We are much reduced in strength, having only three regiments (weak) of infantry, but we

are strong in artillery, and have about 1,400 sabres. This would be a good strong force, if it was not that we have to protect a front of about three miles."

Writing under date the 13th March, this writer adds:—"Showers of shells poured into the Kaiserbagh all night long, and a tremendous hammering at the mess-house going on all this morning. The Ghoorkas are closing in a good deal towards the city. Another regiment (the Madras fusiliers) ordered away from this, and two squadrons of the 7th hussars sent here. All the ammunition ordered up to the front. Harwood, of the 1st Madras fusiliers (General Outram's extra aide-de-camp), wounded. Altogether about 200 of our men *hors de combat*, and fourteen or fifteen officers hit."

The state of the commander-in-chief's camp at the Alumbagh on the 2nd of March, is thus described:—"The troops are in a first-rate condition, and well supplied by the commissariat, but their accommodation is not so good, twenty men having to sleep in tents warranted to hold only sixteen. But in this latter respect they are better off than many of the officers who are without tents of any description, and who have to provide shelter for themselves out of a few piles, some mud, and straw. The brave Sir Colin is described as being worse off, in the way of accommodation, than any of his men, and as sharing all the privations to which the lowest in rank are subject. Conduct like this cannot be too much admired, but (if the accounts which have been published are true) his recklessness in exposing himself to the fire of the enemy, cannot be too much censured, for his life is far too valuable to be thus needlessly endangered. It is said that when remonstrated with, he coolly replies, the rebels are such miserable shots, that there is no danger, and that he rides, if possible, slower than before past the point of danger. The walls of Lucknow are said to be covered with rebel proclamations, calling on the Mussulmans to massacre every Feringhee, and reminding the Hindoos of the contempt with which the English regard their caste notions, holding as they do that the prince and the scavenger are equal in the sight of God. It is reported that Rajah Balkishen, the finance minister under the administration of the king, is dead."

A communication dated "Camp Dilkoo-sha, March 13th," says—Our present position is as follows:—Sir Colin holds the

Mess-house, Motee Mahal, Shah Nujeef, Mosque, Barracks, Begum's Palace, and Banks' House on the right bank of the river; on the left bank, Sir James Outram is advanced to the stone bridge. The Ghoorka camp extends from Jellalabad to the Dilkoo-sha. The Kaiserbagh is a large range of mosques and palaces, covering as much ground, I should think, as Windsor Castle, and is intrenched on all sides. However, the range of works already taken without a struggle is so enormous that it is supposed there will be little fighting. The amount of labour Blaikie has thrown away is perfectly marvellous; the loop-holing itself is prodigious, and notwithstanding all this, no resistance has as yet been made, except at the Begum's Palace. We are to have, I believe, eighty heavy guns and mortars concentrated on the Kaiserbagh to-day.

"Alumbagh, March 15th.—Just a few lines to inform you that the 'Kaiserbagh' was taken yesterday morning, with a loss on our side of fourteen killed and wounded. Brazyer, of the Sikhs, among the latter. A lot of guns captured, most of them honey-combed. The city will soon be in our possession now. Poor Hodson was killed four days ago, whilst charging a battery with the infantry; he volunteered his services. Moorsom was also killed, he was on Outram's staff; both good men and true. Two officers of the 93rd killed also. The 18th and 32nd, and Blunt's 9-pounder battery, came up as the 9th, but were speedily ordered back again to Cawnpore, for some reason or other. The Sikhs had been driven into Cawnpore by the Calpee lot; so I hear. An officer from Cawnpore arrived with despatches for Outram two days ago. Heavy cannonading has been going on for some days. Captain Peel is wounded. A good many men of the 98th blown up by a mine—convoys still arriving. The enemy are dispirited, and do *not* fight pluckily. Outram is living in the 'Chukkur Kotec,' weather getting hot, over a hundred degrees in the shade. There ought to be lots of loot in Lucknow. Can you inform me why the jewels and other valuables, to the amount of a crore of rupees, are not given as prizes to the garrison of Lucknow and Havelock's force, according to the order of General Sir James Outram to that effect, who appointed prize-agents for that purpose?

"Lucknow, March 17th.—On Tuesday,

the 9th of March, the second division entered Lucknow, or, I may say, got some way into the 'West end,' and the commander-in-chief attacking the Martinière, found it deserted; the immense earthen ramparts, with a ditch deeper than that of the 'Redan' (so the Crimean men say), forsaken. Our flank movement entirely dumfounded the enemy, who, when they saw our column marching from Dilkoosa to their tents, must have made up their minds to desert a line of works which they knew were no longer tenable. Their knowledge of the art of war, instead of having been of much use to them, has been a perfect snare. Their parapets have been pierced for embrasures, and loopholed for musketry: their ditches have been deep and wide, and the ground for yards in front has been cleared of cover; but they had no flanking defence, and seem never to have understood that, to make a military position of any strength, one work must flank another. But I must give you an account of what the 5th brigade did, as well as I can; for really, so little falls to the notice of a single individual, that although one knows there has been great success, it is difficult to say to what extent it has been carried. We moved down from our camp to Chinkut, for the purpose of attacking the Yellow Bungalow, or Race-stand, the troops to be pushed on as occasion might require. The 1st Bengal fusiliers, and two companies of the 79th highlanders, charged at it in fine style, dashed in with a cheer, and, as usual, our enemies turned tail, leaving some seven or eight men below in a series of vaults, who could not get out, and fired at our men as they came near. Later in the day they were all disposed of after having killed an officer and two men, and wounded nine others. However, the brigade pushed eagerly on. The 23rd fusiliers, as fine a regiment as ever stepped, went far into the place, and the rifle battalion scoured it, nearly, if not quite, up to the iron bridge. The first fusiliers, who are very weak, but up to any work, were for some time kept back in an inclosed ground behind a mosque; but they afterwards went forward, I think. The head-quarters of the 79th highlanders were also on ahead with the 23rd. In the meanwhile, the chief entered on the Martinière side, and the enemy, between his army and ours, retired altogether from the ground between the Dilkoosha and our camp, which, next day, was brought down

to the sands before the Race-house. A picket of the fusiliers, and the 79th, was still kept a little ahead of the Race-house, to guard two guns which played into Lucknow. No guns answered them, but a dropping fire of musketry was kept up from about the Secunderbagh at our men; who, being well under cover, were not hit, I think. Time will not allow me to go into the details of the different buildings we took; but yesterday, the 16th, our brigade went in to attack the residency and buildings there about; for although the principal portion of the inhabitants and mutineers were reported to have left the city on the 14th, yet we know that some 5,000 desperate villains have sworn to die there, and we are determined not to baulk their fancies. The 23rd and 1st fusiliers went into the town (I saw very few Pandies), and pop, pop, was heard going on; and presently the order came for the 79th to advance, which they did. They fired once or twice at that regiment as it passed through the town, but no damage was done. We passed the iron bridge, leaving it on our right, found the houses all deserted, and then down to the Imaumbarra, which is a most splendid place; and there the 1st fusiliers were peppering away at flying Pandies, running over the roof and along the passages. After this (I suppose) the 79th encamped there. The brigade left camp at seven, and did not reach its destination till past four. All our advances were preceded by a heavy fire of artillery, and accordingly we did not lose many men. The palaces and buildings are shattered to pieces, I am sorry to say, and looting goes on all over the place; silk and crockery seem to be about the only things worth taking, though some camp-followers have got bars of gold and shawls; but they soon get looted in turn by the Europeans. It seems to be 'every man for himself.' General Wilson was invested with the K.C.B. to-day, in full open durbar! Musketry has been heard all day; but nearly the whole of the city and all the principal buildings are in our hands.

"Dilkoosha, March 18th.—Ontram's operations yesterday were most successful. He cleared all the principal streets about the chowk, occupied Shirreff-u-Dowlah's house, which was found to be highly fortified and full of powder, and advanced close to the Jumma Musjid, which, as I write, is in our possession. I regret to say, however, that

the gratifying nature of our yesterday's operations was sadly dashed by a terrible accident. The troops came across several waggons of gunpowder, some loose powder in tin cases, some in bags. The waggons were in a narrow lane. General Outram ordered the powder to be well flooded with water, and then carefully thrown into a well in a neighbouring garden. It would have been most dangerous to have attempted to carry it off, as there were several fires on the line of route. Sir James' orders about the sousing of the water were not fully carried out, nor his injunctions as to the care with which the tins and bags should be thrown into the well. One tin case was hurled with violence into the well. It struck the side with force; the powder exploded; a sheet of fire shot up from the well, communicated with the rest of the powder, and a fearful explosion occurred. Some forty-two men suffered. Of five or six not a vestige remained; the rest were burned in the most frightful manner. Their clothes were burnt and blown off their bodies. A European could not be distinguished from a native. It was, they say, a fearful sight to see the naked skinless bodies of our men as they rushed about in indescribable anguish, screaming for water or brandy, and imploring their officers, by the love of Jesus, to shoot them and put them out of agony. Two officers were injured; one mortally, it is feared; the other is sadly disfigured. Several officers, amongst them Captain Weston and Captain Tulloch, had a most wonderful escape. Sir James Outram and his staff, and Brigadier Eyre, had left only about *one* minute before the explosion. Sir James met a company of the 79th advancing to the place. He changed their route to some other point; and but for this providential accident, they too would have been blown up. The Ghoorkas have taken some eighteen or nineteen guns near the Charbagh. There was a grand investiture of the Bath yesterday. Sir Archdale Wilson and Sir Edward Lugard were invested by the chief; salutes were fired, which rather alarmed the fellows in front. In the evening the chief gave a grand dinner party."

"March 20th.—The operations yesterday were admirably conducted, as regarded our division, and the result most satisfactory. But unfortunately, General Campbell made some mistake in the road, and did not join us at Moosabagh. General Grant found

the river swollen and unfordable, and chafed like a caged lion as he saw us slashing away, much desiring that aid which the state of the Goomtee prevented him rendering. They say that the first oath this brave soldier and good man ever was heard to utter, escaped his lips on that occasion. General Outram had been promised a troop of horse artillery. They sent him, instead, a battery of foot. The royal artillery is awfully slow, and thus many hundreds escaped, who would have been sent to their long account had we had that glorious fellow, Olpherts, with us. Great looting went on during the 17th and 18th, and several Pandies were shot in the different streets and houses where they were concealed; it was dangerous going anywhere; six and eight would be found in a house. I hear several very valuable articles were got by the men and camp-followers. As usual, a prize agent was appointed after all the valuables had been taken away, and he called upon officers to give up what they had. Some men are said to have got bars of gold, gold mohurs, jewels, diamond bracelets, &c. On the 19th, we followed part of Outram's force, and advanced through the remainder of the town, took possession of the Moosabagh, where the enemy had a kind of rearguard, with the begum, whom we were in hopes of catching; she is willing to give herself up, but Pandey wont allow her to come. As usual they bolted; our cavalry cut up a good number; we chased them for about three miles, and took a number of guns, carts, camels, bullocks, &c., and saw numbers of people hiding themselves; the male portion received little mercy, the women and children were allowed to go away. One woman was killed. She shot a lancer dead with a musket from behind a mound. There were two other men there, and they ran her through with their lances. I saw the body. A Pandey of the 21st native infantry was hid in some tall cultivation, and suddenly cut at an officer riding by. Fortunately the stroke missed him, but brought his horse down. The brute was going to cut at the officer, who could not extricate himself from the horse, when four others ran to his rescue with their revolvers, but made such bad shots, that I believe out of twelve shots, not one struck him. Pandey kept going at one, then another with his tulwar, and nearly killed one of our officers, whose horse saved him by going too close to the brute: two or three

gunners went on him with their swords, and killed the brute; but not before he had severely wounded one of them in three places. People are coming back to the town. Some negotiations seem to be going on. It is said that the town is to be ransomed for two crores of rupees.

"Lucknow, March 22nd.—The town is being gradually cleared of 'budmashes,' and the civil officers are labouring most energetically to encourage the peaceful inhabitants to return to their houses and avocations. But their efforts are much thwarted by the plundering and violence of the camp-followers, whose numbers render them uncontrollable in a large, rambling, straggling city of tortuous streets and intricate lanes like Lucknow. Sir James Outram has, however, obtained Sir Colin Campbell's authority to establish a very strong provost establishment; and it is hoped that a few shootings and hangings may tend to prevent further excesses. The plunder, unfortunately, has not been confined to camp-followers, and there are unpleasant rumours in circulation, which, however, it may be best to refrain from repeating. The 'moulvie' and the 'begum' are reported now to be about thirty miles from Lucknow, endeavouring to reorganise the rebel army. The chief commissionership in Oude has, I believe, been offered to and declined by General McGregor, whose health demands that he should return to Europe. Colonel Edwardes is generally understood to be the chief commissioner designate. From information derived from an authority that is indisputable, there can be no cause to doubt that the ladies lately rescued from captivity were spared outrage. They have been treated with great harshness and indignity, subjected to cruelly severe confinement, imperfectly clad, imperfectly fed, and compelled to listen to the foulest vituperation and abuse. But, luckily, one of them at least was, through her ignorance of the language, spared the pain of understanding the words addressed to them and uttered in their hearing. The darogah, who alone showed them anything approaching to kindness, and all who aided in their escape, have been handsomely rewarded by Sir James Outram; and that officer and Sir Colin Campbell have nobly vied with each other in their kindness to the poor captives.

"Lucknow, March 25th.—Just had a race of about fourteen miles after some

Pandies, who had arrived so far on their way to relieve Lucknow, when they were met by their noble Bhaices, who had escaped from Lucknow, and announced that their relief was too late. The enemy had fourteen guns; two of them were of very small calibre, 2-pounders, I suppose; the others 6-pounders, 9-pounders, and one 5½-inch mortar. Pandey no sooner got sight of us than he took to his heels. Our troops at a gallop could not get within sight of them at all. About 120 pukka Pandies, who were caught up and surrounded by the Punjab cavalry, made a desperate fight. Seeing themselves hemmed in on one side by poor Macdonald's squadron, and on the other by Brown's or Cosserat's, they had the cheek to cry out, 'Don't touch us, and we will not touch you.' This, as you may suppose, had little effect upon Macdonald, who closed in on them at once; but the Pandies reserved their fire until the cavalry was within a few yards of them, when they fired, and shot poor Macdonald dead—hit Cosserat, I fear, very severely, and wounded a great many of the men. One Sikh behaved beyond all praise. He was shot mortally, and dropped off his horse: having recovered after a moment from the shock, he mounted his horse again, charged, and cut down two Pandies. The weather here growing awfully hot, and dours likely to last for the next year! A lot of zemindars of the surrounding country have sent in their puggies in token of submission, and have expressed their readiness to do whatever the chief wishes. People have not yet begun to return to the city, and so far they have acted wisely; for the Europeans have been, for the last day or two, in such a mood, that no native left was safe. A soldier shot a native two days ago through the body, for not giving up a tattoo he asked him for; they are, however, returning to order again, and I hope soon all will be going on smoothly here again."

Many extraordinary and exciting incidents connected with the recapture of the city of Lucknow, are elaborately and amusingly described in detail by Mr. Russell, the special correspondent of the *Times* newspaper, who traces the progress of the struggle after the reduction of the Imaumbarra, in the following lively sketches, among others:—"The sepoys, dismayed by the fierce onslaught, and by the lesson they had previously been taught at the begum's palace, abandoned their position; and as they fled, with Brasyer's Sikhs and the 10th

regiment in fast pursuit, they rushed in such confusion through the detached houses and courts between it and the Kaiserbagh, that a universal panic was created, and the Sikhs entered by the ramps and gateways along with the enemy. They were supported by men of the corps engaged in the assault on the Imaumbarra; and at the very aspect of those men inside the defences, sepoy and nujeebs lost heart, and fled out of the courts and buildings. Some were shut up, or secreted themselves in recesses, and in the many mysterious apartments of an eastern palace; but all who were found in arms were shot down or bayoneted on the spot." When Brigadier Napier, soon after eleven o'clock, reported that the troops were in the Kaiserbagh, every one was taken by surprise. It happened at the time, that a grand durbar was being held by the commander-in-chief, for the formal reception of Jung Bahadoor; but, before the ceremony was half ended, Captain Hope Johnstone rushed in, announcing the capture of the Kaiserbagh. All state formalities were broken through at once. "Everybody," says an eye-witness of the scene, "shook hands with everybody; and, by common consent, the pomp and circumstance of the ceremonious visit were, amongst the stern and terrible realities of victory, postponed to a future day, and all repaired to the last scene of triumph as quickly as possible. Sir Colin at once mounted; and, accompanied by his staff and a host of followers, proceeded to the Imaumbarra, and from thence to stairs which led up on the roof of the palace, vociferously cheered by his soldiers as he passed along. From this position, a good view could be obtained of portions of the Kaiserbagh; but it was rather too much exposed to fire from the minarets and buildings in the vicinity, to be perfectly agreeable or safe. The road from the begum's palace, and on to the Kaiserbagh, could now be seen thronged with dhooly-bearers, some returning with heavy litters, full of groaning, wounded men, others in a stream tramping through the dust, to join their regiments. Artillerymen, sailors, and oxen were busily employed in dragging up heavy guns and mortars, to secure the new possession; while troops, among whom were men of English, Scotch, Ghorka, and Sikh regiments, were marching rapidly towards the Kaiserbagh, or were already in the courts and streets around it. The narrator then proceeds:—"Descending from

the roof, as one struggled over the masses of fallen brickwork, the traces of our sap, choked up here and there with fallen earth, were close on our left; till the sap reached a long corridor by the side of a court, which served as an excellent covered way for our sappers. The enemy's cooking places, brass pots or lotas, charpas, clothing, belts, ammunition, broken muskets and matchlocks, swords, pistols, chapatties were scattered over the ground on every side; but there were not many dead visible till we reached some of the courts. The large hall of the Imaumbarra, which appeared to have been used as a sort of museum, and had contained many curious models of mosques and many fine glasses and chandeliers, was a heap of ruin. Working our way through Sikhs busy in melting down gold and silver lace, in huge fires, under earthen pots that served as crucibles, through wounded Ghorkas staggering back to the rear, we approached the Kaiserbagh. The air was still heavy with gunpowder; bullets were still whistling around from desperate men shut up in the works, and from the enemy in the inner line of defences. Every window of every house was filled with brick or baked mud and loopholed, and the tops of all the houses and walls had a raised parapet pierced in the same way above them. The heat and the dust were fatiguing and oppressive; but the excitement carried one forward, and at last we managed to get through the breach in the parapet of the outer work, which our sappers were enlarging for the passage of guns, and to enter one of the courts of the Kaiserbagh, through a small gateway or broken door. It was surrounded by rooms with latticed windows, to which access was gained by means of stairs opening into the court, the strong doors of which were barred on the inside. The walls were decorated with indifferent frescoes, representing feats of arms and female dancers. On one side, the trees of a garden could be caught sight of through venetian blinds, and there was evidence that we were near to the king's zenana, and that the buildings around us were the houses of his eunuchs. We proceeded forward to the entrance of the main building. Our men were just crashing through the rooms of the palaces, which were, as yet, filled with the evidence of barbaric magnificence and splendour, and the cries of the dying were not yet stilled when we entered.

"The Kaiserbagh cannot be described; the whole place is a series of palaces, kiosks, and mosques, all of fanciful Oriental architecture—some light and graceful, others merely fantastic and curious, connected generally by long corridors, arched and open in the front, or by extensive wings, which enclose the courts and gardens contained within the outer walls. In every room throughout the endless series, there was a profusion of mirrors in ponderous gilt frames; from every ceiling hung glass chandeliers of every age, form, colour, and design. As to the furniture, in many instances it looked like collections from the lumber rooms of all the old palaces in Europe, relieved by rich carpets and sumptuous divans, by cushions covered with golden embroidery, by rich screens of Cashmere shawls, and by table covers, ponderous with pearls and gold. In some of the rooms were a few pictures in gorgeous frames; but the hand of the spoiler had been heavy among all. Those which hung out of the reach of the musket-stock and bayonet-thrust, were not safe from a bullet, or the leg of a table converted into an impromptu missile for the occasion. Down came chandeliers in a tinkling, clattering rain of glass; crash followed crash, as door and window, mirror and pendule were battered down by the excited victors. Sikh and soldier were revelling in destruction, and delirious with plunder and mischief: those who could not get in at once to carry on the work, searched the corridors, and battered off the noses, legs, and arms of the statues in the gardens; or, diving into the cellars, either made their fortune by the discovery of unexpected treasure, or lost their lives at the hands of concealed fanatics. There had, as yet, been no time to guard against indiscriminate plunder, inasmuch as it never was expected that the Kaiserbagh and all its treasures would have fallen that day into our hands."

Our men were in high delight with the gay dresses of the eunuchs, which they found in some of the rooms; and it was with difficulty they were induced to take off the crowns of lace, and peacock's plumes, and bird of paradise feathers, and the sword belts they stuck over their heads and shoulders. Here, as in every other building, there were quantities of kites, the flying of which appears to have been a favourite amusement with the childish but ferocious races that inhabited the place. Cyrus cranes, tame monkeys, apes,

antelopes, and numbers of paroquets, in cages, were appropriated by the men in this quarter; but as some officers were looking at one of the men who had dressed himself out in a fantastic eunuch's attire, a shot from one of the rooms of the court passed between them, announcing that that was no place for antics, and the party speedily shifted their quarters. "In the next court, which was sheltered from fire by the walls around it, some men had made a great seizure. They had burst into some of the state apartments, and they were engaged in dividing the spoil of shawls and lace, and embroidery of gold and silver and pearls. In a nook off this court, where there was a little shade, we retired to rest ourselves, as there were no means of approaching the front part of the buildings, which were on fire, and explosions of mines were momentarily expected. Two men of the 90th were in before us, and, assisted later by some of the 38th, we saw them appropriate moneys worth enough to make them independent for life. The rooms off this nook had been used as stores by the king or some wealthy member of his household, and each moment these men went in only to emerge with a richer trophy. In one box, they found diamond bracelets, emeralds, rubies, pearls, and opals, all so large and bright and badly set, that we believed at the time they were glass. In another was a pair of gold-mounted and jewelled duelling pistols of English make, and the bill, stating that his majesty, the king of Oude, owed the maker £280! Then out they came with bundles of swords, gold-mounted and jewelled, which they at once knocked to pieces for the sake of the mountings, leaving the blades behind them. Next came out a huge chemical laboratory—then a gold saddle-cloth, studded with pearls—then gold-handled riding-canes and cups of agate and jade, gold-mounted and jewelled. The happy possessors of these riches were quite mad with excitement, and their enquiries were almost too rapid for reply—'Is this gold, sir?' 'Is that a diamond?' 'Is your honour shure that's raal goold?' 'Is this string of little white stones (pearls) worth anything, gentlemen?' It was a great drawback to have a conscience under such circumstances—a greater not to have a penny in one's pocket; for in this country no one, except an old stager on the look out for loot, carries a farthing about him; and, as one of the soldiers pithily ob-

served, 'these here concerns only carries on ready money transactions.' He was an experienced operator, that gentleman. If a native soldier came in, and walked off with anything which he found in a dark corner, out-pounced our friend upon him, rifle in hand, 'Leave that there, I tell you. I put that there myself;' and there was something in his eye which explained his meaning so clearly, that the article was at once abandoned, and, if found to be valuable was retained; if not was 'made a present of.' Close to us were large boxes of japanned work, containing literally thousands of cups and vessels of jade, of crystal, and of china, which the soldiers were carelessly throwing about and breaking into atoms. Had the enemy made a strong attack upon us at that moment, not one half of our troops could have been collected to repel it; and such were the scenes through every court of the many mansions of the Kaiserbagh.

"While these proceedings were going on, intelligence reached General Mansfield, the chief of the staff, that some women of the zenana were secreted in one of the strongest parts of the Kaiserbagh, and Captain Hope Johnstone of the staff, with some officers with two companies of the 38th regiment, were immediately ordered to the spot indicated for their protection. Some of the soldiers had already in their search for plunder forced an entrance to the apartments, and in doing so, the son of one of the begums (a deaf and dumb youth of twenty years of age), and two or three of the ladies of the zenana, were unfortunately killed by a discharge of musketry when the doors were broken in, and before the soldiers saw that the persons before them were females. When the officers with their men entered, the terror of the begums and their attendants was extreme. They expected instant death. Huddled together amid the smoke, they could scarcely be calmed by the assurances of the officers, who at once took measures to remove them to a place of safety. As they were going out, one of the ladies pointed out to Captain Hope Johnstone a box which he had just taken from the floor and laid upon the table. She told him it contained jewels to the value of ten lacs of rupees, or £100,000. He at once placed sentries at the doors, and gave orders that no one should enter. Having, with the aid of his brother officers, taken the ladies out of danger, he returned

to the zenana; it was blazing from end to end, the sentries only escaped by clambering up to the roof, from which they were with difficulty saved; but the jewels were gone. Had Captain Johnstone taken them, they would have been his own; for the Kaiserbagh on this day was given up to plunder, and what each man could get became his property.

"Those stately buildings, which had never before been entered by European foot, except by a commissioner of Oude on a state visit, were now open to the common soldier, and to the meanest camp-follower of our army. Their splendours vanished like snow in sunshine—the destruction around one, the shouting, the smashing noises, the yells of the Sikhs and natives, were oppressive. I was glad to get away, just as our mortars began to thunder away at the enemy's works again. There were burning stockades, and thousands of pounds of powder near at hand. In every court, there was abundance of all kinds of ammunition, except 6-pounder shot; which, as well as many 9-pounder balls, were rudely made of hammered iron. In one court we found a large brass mortar, with heaps of live brass and *stone* shells near it; but I could not find any fuses. It was late in the evening when we returned to camp, through roads thronged with at least 20,000 camp-followers, all staggering under loads of plunder; the most extraordinary and indescribable spectacle I ever beheld—a flood of men covered with clothing not their own, carrying on heads and shoulders, looking-glasses, mirrors, pictures, brass pots, swords, firelocks, rich shawls, scarfs, embroidered dresses, and 'loot' of all kinds, from ransacked palaces. The noise, the dust, the shouting, the excitement, were almost beyond endurance. Lucknow was borne away piecemeal; and the wild Ghoorkas and Sikhs, with open mouths and glaring eyes, burning with haste to get rich, were contending fiercely against the current, as they sought to get to the sources of such unexpected wealth. The commander-in-chief and the chief of his staff were already in camp, and the expression of Sir Colin's face told how much the result of the day's operations had pleased him."*

Having illustrated some striking incidents of the struggle for Lucknow, so far as the preceding extracts extend, the narrative of active operations is resumed.

* Russell's Letter, see *Times*, May 6th, 1858.

Late in the afternoon of the 18th of March, orders were issued to Sir James Outram, to drive the enemy from their strong position at the Moosabagh, the only post of strength now held by them. The force under the command of Sir James was ready to march from their quarters at the great Imaumbarra, at 6. 30. A.M.; and the general and his staff left their quarters at Banks' House, in the old residency, soon after daybreak, Sir Colin Campbell and the head-quarters' staff riding out to view the operations. The enemy had collected, at this their last post, in numbers estimated at from 8 to 10,000; and both the begum and moulvie were reported to be present with the troops. The position occupied by them was situated outside the verge of the city, close to the Goomtee, and consisted of a large cluster of buildings, surrounded by gardens and high walls, which were loopholed, and otherwise prepared for defence. Immediately in front of the walls was a similar enclosure, belonging to Ali Nacky Khan, the king's vizier; and the road to both passed through a low suburb, with occasional large palaces and mosques, which were capable of being converted into formidable obstacles to the advance of troops. As no very serious resistance was expected from the rebel troops in the defence of the post, the principal cause for anxiety was, how to secure and punish such of them as might attempt to escape by flight; and, accordingly, a strong force of cavalry was disposed in various directions, to intercept them.

As the troops detailed for the assault, marched through the gateway, in front of the Imaumbarra, the enemy were observed retiring in haste from their advanced posts in the houses opposite, and retreating on the Moosabagh, from which place also a similar movement was speedily visible, and a vast number of the enemy were soon in rapid flight before the English troops had a chance of getting near them. The rebels fled in broken masses, mingled with townspeople and budmashes, followed by the lancers. Some few of their matchlock men and sepoys kept up a smart fire, and their guns were placed to cover the retreat as much as possible, occasionally directing their attention towards the group of officers composing the head-quarters' staff. At length, after a faint effort to rally near the river, they finally gave way and fled through the enclosures and corn-fields with which

the country is diversified, speedily distancing the pursuers by the rapidity of their movements. A sikh regiment was placed in the Moosabagh for its security, but no enemy again appeared to dispute their possession.

To prevent the outrages that continually occurred in the city through collisions between the troops, it was determined by the commander-in-chief to withdraw them from the streets as soon as a fair proportion of the respectable inhabitants should return to occupy the houses; but for some time there appeared little ground for expecting that persons would return, owing to the frequency of explosions, and to the wanton outrages perpetrated by the sikhs. "To-day," writes Mr. Russell, "as we were riding towards the Moosabagh, we observed a very old man, who, apparently in the last extremity of feebleness, was lying on his resai by the road side. As we came back we saw his body with a cleft in the skull, dead by the wall over which it had been thrown by his murderers. I almost fear the same fate will befall a white-bearded Said, or holy man, who was dragged out of his hiding place by some sikhs the other day, and would have been slain but for my companion. The old fellow said he had lain in mortal terror for three days after the capture of the Imaumbarra in a cellar, till he was forced to move by hunger." To repress these atrocities as far as possible, the following general order was issued by the commander-in-chief on the 18th of March:—

"It is reported to the commander-in-chief that the sikhs and other native soldiers, are plundering in a most outrageous manner, and refuse to give up their plunder to the guards told off for the express purpose of checking such proceedings.

"His excellency desires that strong parties under the command of European officers be immediately sent out from each native regiment to put a stop to these excesses.

"Commanding officers of native regiments are called upon to use their best endeavours to restore order, and are responsible that all their men who are not on duty remain in camp, and that those who are on duty do not quit their posts."

These orders being found ineffectual to repress the mischief that prevailed, regulations far more stringent were announced for the restoration of order among the troops. An hourly roll call was ordered by the commander-in-chief, and no soldier upon any

pretence, was allowed to enter the city. All camp followers found in the streets or houses, with arms, were seized and hung up, no soldier was permitted to wear his side arms except when on duty, and triangles were set up at proper places for the summary punishment of minor offenders.

The following despatches announced officially the recapture of Lucknow, and were promulgated in the governor-general's gazette of April 5th, 1858:—

"The right honourable the governor-general, having now received the despatches from his excellency the commander-in-chief, giving an account of the retaking of Lucknow by the force under his excellency's personal command, is pleased to publish them for general information:—

"In December last, it became the grateful duty of the governor-general in council to promulgate in general orders the announcement of the relief of the garrison of Lucknow, so admirably achieved by General Sir Colin Campbell, G. C. B., and the rescue of the women and children, sick and wounded, long beleaguered there. It is now the governor-general's privilege to convey to his excellency the tribute of his highest admiration, and of his most cordial congratulation on the capture of the strong city of the rebels. From the 2nd till the 16th of March, a series of masterly operations took place, by which the commander-in-chief, nobly supported in his well-laid plans of attack by the ability and skill of the general officers, and by the indomitable bravery and resolution of the officers and men of all arms, drove the rebels successively from all their strongly-fortified posts, till the whole fell into the possession of our troops. That this great success should have been accomplished at so little cost of valuable lives, enhances the honour due to the leader who has achieved it. It is a pleasure to the governor-general to acknowledge publicly the services of the general and other officers who took part in the capture of Lucknow.

"During the last days of the operations, the Nepaulese force, under Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, was associated with the army under General Sir Colin Campbell's command. To the distinguished leader of that force, the Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, the governor-general desires to express his thanks for the hearty co-operation which the commander-in-chief received from his highness, and for the gallant bearing of his highness's troops. To Major-general Sir James Outram, G. C. B., the government of India is under a new debt of gratitude. After having held the exposed post of the Alumbagh for more than three months, in the face of powerful bodies of rebels, whose attacks he never failed to repel, Sir James Outram has further greatly distinguished himself at the head of the first division, by the brilliant and thoroughly complete manner in which he executed these duties entrusted to him. The governor-general requests that Sir James Outram will accept his most sincere thanks.

"His lordship offers his hearty acknowledgments to the other general officers whose services are prominently noticed in these despatches:—

"To Major-general Mansfield, chief of the staff, of whose eminent services the commander-in-chief speaks with well-merited commendation. To Major-

general Sir Archdale Wilson, K. C. B., in chief command of the artillery, who, after winning lasting renown in the capture of Delhi, has borne a conspicuous part in the reduction of Lucknow. To Major-general Sir J. Hope Grant, K. C. B., commanding the cavalry of the force; to Brigadier-general Franks, C. B., Brigadier-general Walpole, and Brigadier-general Sir Edward Lugard, K. C. B., commanding the second, third, and fourth divisions of infantry.

"The governor-general has to record his acknowledgments to Captain Sir William Peel, K. C. B., commanding the naval brigade of her majesty's ship *Shannon*, and to offer his especial thanks to him for his remarkable services. The governor-general entirely concurs with his excellency the commander-in-chief in prominently recognising the great skill and ability of Brigadier Napier, who commanded the engineers of her majesty's and the East India Company's services forming part of the force. Brigadier Napier is especially entitled to the thanks of the governor-general; and to him, to Colonel Harness, commanding the royal engineers, and to the several officers under them, of both the services, his lordship's grateful acknowledgments are offered. The governor-general has much satisfaction in expressing his high sense of the merits of the several officers commanding brigades and regiments.

"To the commanding officers of the royal artillery, the naval artillery, and of the Bengal and Madras artillery, the governor-general tenders his cordial thanks. To Major Norman, deputy-adjutant-general of the army, to whose superior merits and distinguished services the commander-in-chief bears willing testimony, a tribute in which the governor-general concurs; to Colonel the Hon. W. L. Pakenham, C. B., officiating-adjutant-general of her majesty's forces in India; to Lieutenant-colonel Macpherson, officiating-quartermaster-general of the army; to Captain Seymour, officiating-quartermaster-general her majesty's forces; to Captain Bruce, deputy-quartermaster-general, and Captain Algood, assistant-quartermaster-general; to Lieutenant-colonel Keith Young, judge-advocate-general; to Captain Fitzgerald, assistant-commissary-general, who is specially mentioned by the commander-in-chief; to Lieutenant P. Stewart, of engineers, superintendent of electric telegraphs; to Dr. McAndrew, inspector-general of hospitals her majesty's forces, and to Dr. Brown, superintending-surgeon of the force, the governor-general has much satisfaction in expressing his sense of the good service they have rendered.

"To the officers of the personal staff of the commander-in-chief, of the chief of staff, and of general officers commanding divisions, the thanks of the governor-general are due; and his lordship records his acknowledgments to the officers of the staff of divisions and brigades, all of whom have zealously performed their duty. To the officers and men of every service—soldiers, seamen, and marines—composing the force by which Lucknow has been taken, the governor-general desires to express his admiration of their conduct, and to tender to each individual the thanks of the government of India. His lordship will take the earliest opportunity of bringing under the favourable notice of her majesty's government, and of the Hon. the Court of Directors, the services rendered by the force.

"In testimony of these services, the governor-general is pleased to direct, that every officer and soldier, European and native, and the officers and

men of the navy, who took part in the capture of Lucknow, shall receive a donation of six months' batta.—By order of the right honourable the governor-general.

"R. J. H. BIRCH, Colonel, Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, with the Governor-general."

From Sir Colin Campbell, General, Commander-in-Chief in India, to the Right Hon. the Viscount Canning, Governor-general of India, &c.

"Camp La Martinière, dated Lucknow, March 22.

"My Lord,—I have the honour to announce to your lordship, that I transferred my head-quarters to the camp of Brigadier-general Sir Edward Lugard, K. C. B., at Bunthura, on the 28th ultimo, the division which had been detached under Brigadier-general Sir J. Hope Grant, K. C. B., and that under Brigadier-general Walpole joining the next day.

"Having received tolerably correct information with respect to the lines of works which have been constructed by the enemy for the defence of Lucknow, it appeared evident to me that the necessity would arise for operating from both sides of the Goomtee when the capture of the city should be seriously entertained. Two very important reasons conduced to show the expediency of such a course, the one being that it would become possible to enfilade many of the enemy's new works; the other, that great avenues of supply would be closed against the town, although I could not hope to invest a city having a circumference of twenty miles. My first preparations, therefore, were made for the purpose of crossing the river. Bridges of casks had been previously constructed, and were ready in the engineer's park.

"On the 2nd of March, I advanced on Dilkoosha with the following troops:—Head-quarters of the division of artillery, and of the field artillery brigade, under Major-general Sir A. Wilson, K. C. B., and Colonel D. Wood, C. B., royal horse artillery; Lieutenant-colonel D. Aguilar's troops, royal horse artillery; Lieutenant-colonel Tombs, C. B., and Lieutenant Bishop's troops, Bengal horse artillery, under Lieutenant-colonel Turner. Two 24-pounders, and two 8-inch howitzers of the *Shannon's* naval brigade; two companies Punjab sappers and miners. The head-quarters of the cavalry division, and the 1st cavalry brigade, under Brigadier-general Sir J. H. Grant, K. C. B., and Brigadier Little. Her majesty's 9th lancers, 2nd Punjab irregular cavalry, detachment 5th Punjab irregular cavalry, 1st Sikh irregular cavalry, the second division infantry, under Brigadier-general Sir E. Lugard, K. C. B., consisting of 3rd brigade, Brigadier P. M. M. Guy, composed of her majesty's 34th, 38th, and 53rd regiments; 4th brigade, Brigadier Hon. A. Hope, composed of the 42nd and 93rd highlanders, with 4th Punjab rifles; and seized that position after a skirmish, in which a gun was taken from the enemy.

"When the brigades of infantry began to close on the advance guard the enemy opened several

guns, which were in position in strong bastions along the line of the canal. This fire was heavy and well sustained. These guns commanded the plateau, and compelled me to retire the camp as far back as it was possible; but not so far as I could have wished, owing to ravines in rear. The palace of Dilkoosha was occupied as an advance picket on the right, and the Mahomedbagh on the left—heavy guns being placed in battery at both points, to keep down the hostile fire. During the whole of the 2nd, until these arrangements could be completed, the troops were much annoyed by the enemy's guns. After that day, until an advance took place, although the shot ranged up to, and sometimes into the camp, but slight loss ensued from this cause.

"On the 3rd and 4th, the remainder of the siege train, together with Brigadier-general Walpole's division, closed up on the Dilkoosha position—the right of our line resting on Bibiapore and the Goomtee, the left being towards the Alumbagh. There was an interval of about two miles between our left and Jellalabad, the right of the Alumbagh position. This interval was occupied by a regiment of irregular horse (Hodson's). Brigadier Campbell, with a strong brigade of cavalry and horse artillery, secured the extreme left, and swept the country towards the north-west. Three infantry regiments were withdrawn from the Alumbagh, and joined the head-quarters' camp.

"On the 5th, General Franks, of the fourth division of infantry, came into direct communication with me. This officer had marched right across the kingdom of Oude, having signally defeated many bodies of insurgents, and kept his time with punctuality according to the orders given to him, with which your lordship is already acquainted. On the same day, the Goomtee was bridged near Bibiapore. While the bridge was being formed, the enemy showed on the left bank, causing the necessity of a disposition of troops and heavy guns. He did not, however, make a real attack. These guns were very useful in another respect; as their practice on the Martinière silenced much fire which would otherwise have annoyed the pickets. They were accordingly kept on the same ground for some days, till the advance of the troops rendered them unnecessary.

"On the 6th, Sir James Outram, G. C. B., who had been withdrawn from the Alumbagh, crossed to the left bank of the Goomtee, with troops as below;* the fourth division, under Brigadier-general Franks, C. B., taking the place vacated by Brigadier-general Walpole in the line.

"The plan of attack which had been conceived, was now developed, and Sir James Outram was directed to push his advance up the left bank of the Goomtee, while the troops in the position of Dilkoosha remained at rest till it should have become apparent that the first line of the enemy's works, or the rampart running along the canal, and abutting on the Goomtee, had been turned.

"The works may be briefly described as fol-

* Force sent across the Goomtee under Sir J. Outram:—Lieutenant-colonel D'Aguilar's troop, royal horse artillery; Major Remington's and Captain McKinnon's troops, royal artillery, under Lieutenant-colonel F. Turner; Captain Gibbon's and Middleton's light field batteries, royal artillery, and head-quarters field artillery brigade; H.M.'s 2nd dragoon guards (bays); H.M.'s 9th lancers; 2nd

Punjab cavalry; detachments 1st and 5th Punjab cavalry, under Captains Watson and Sanford; 3rd infantry division, under Brigadier-general R. Walpole; 5th brigade, Brigadier Douglas, C.B.; H.M.'s 23rd fusiliers; H.M.'s 79th highlanders; 1st Bengal fusiliers; 6th brigade, Brigadier Horsford, C.C.; 2nd battalion rifles; 3rd brigade; battalion ditto, 2nd Punjab infantry.

lows:—The series of courts and buildings called the Kaiserbagh, considered as a citadel by the rebels, was shut in by three lines of defence towards the Goomtee, of which the line of the canal was the outer one. The second line circled round the large building called the Mess-house and the Motee Mahal; and the first or interior one was the principal rampart of the Kaiserbagh, the rear of the enclosures of the latter being closed in by the city, through which approach would have been dangerous to an assailant. These lines were flanked by numerous bastions, and rested at one end on the Goomtee, and the other on the great buildings of the street called the Huzrutgunge, all of which were strongly fortified, and flanked the street in every direction. Extraordinary care had been expended on the defences of the houses and bastions, to enfilade the streets. This duty was ably performed by Sir J. Outram, who pitched his camp on the 6th instant, after a skirmish of his advanced guard in front of the Chukkur Walla Kotee, or 'Yellow-house.' On the 7th, he was attacked by the enemy, who was speedily driven back.

"Having reconnoitred the ground on the 8th instant, I directed Sir James Outram to arrange his batteries during the succeeding night, and to attack the enemy's position—the key of which was the Chukkur Walla Kotee—the next day or the 9th. This was done in very good style by the troops under his command; the enemy being driven at all points, the Yellow-house being seized, and the whole force advanced for some distance through ground affording excellent cover for the enemy. He was then able to bring his right shoulders forward, occupying the Fyzabad-road, and to plant his batteries for the purpose of enfilading the works on the canal before alluded to. He lost no time in doing this, other batteries of heavy guns and howitzers being the following night to play on the works and the Kaiserbagh.

"While this attack was being made by Sir James Outram along the left bank of the Goomtee, on the 9th instant, a very heavy fire was kept up on the Martinière, both from mortars and heavy guns placed in position during the previous night on the Dikooosha plateau. At 2 P.M., the 42nd highlanders, the 53rd, and 90th regiments, stormed the Martinière, under the direction of Brigadier-general Sir Edward Lugard, K. C. B., and Brigadier the Hon. Adrian Hope. It was quickly seen that the enfilading fire on the line of the canal from the opposite side of the river had produced the expected result. The 4th Punjab infantry, supported by the 42nd highlanders, climbed up the intrenchment abutting on the Goomtee, and proceeded to sweep down the whole line of the works, till they got to the neighbourhood of Banks' House, when it became necessary to close operations for the night. Major Wylde, 4th Punjab rifles, distinguished himself very much on this occasion. The line of works was strongly occupied by the troops which had first entered, and by the 53rd regiment.

"On the 10th instant, Sir James Outram was engaged in strengthening his position; Sir James Hope Grant, K. C. B., being employed in patrolling towards the cantonment with the cavalry placed under Sir James Outram's orders—a system of extensive patrolling or *reconnaissance* having been established by my order, in that direction, from the time that the first position had been taken up across the Goomtee. At sunrise on the same day, a dis-

position of troops and heavy guns was made by Sir Edward Lugard for the attack on Banks' House, which was carried at noon, and secured as a strong military post.

"The second part of the plan of attack against the Kaiserbagh now came into operation—viz., to use the great blocks of houses and palaces, extending from Banks' House to the Kaiserbagh, as our approach, instead of sapping up towards the front of the second line of works. By these means, I was enabled to turn towards our own left, at the same time that they were enfiladed on the right by Sir James Outram's advance. The latter had already received orders to plant his guns with a view to raking the enemy's position; to annoy the Kaiserbagh with a vertical and direct fire; also to attack the suburbs in the vicinity of the iron and stone bridges shortly after daybreak, and so commence the iron bridge from the left bank. All this was carried out by Sir James Outram with the most marked success. The enemy, however, still held pertinaciously to his own end of the iron bridge on the right bank, and there was heavy cannonading from both sides till the bridge was afterwards taken in reverse. Sir Edward Lugard's attack on the 11th was pressed forward in like manner.

"The operation had now become one of engineering character, and the most earnest endeavours were made to save the infantry from being hazarded before due preparation had been made. The chief engineer (Brigadier Napier) placed the batteries with a view to breaching and shelling a large block of the palaces called the Begum Kotee. The latter were stormed with great gallantry by the 93rd highlanders, supported by the 4th Punjab rifles and 1,000 Ghoorkas, led by Brigadier the Hon. Adrian Hope, under the direction of Brigadier-general Sir Edward Lugard, at 4 P.M. The troops secured the whole block of buildings, and inflicted a very heavy loss on the enemy, the attack having been one of very desperate character.

"This was the sternest struggle which occurred during the siege. From thenceforward, the chief engineer pushed his approach, with the greatest judgment, through the enclosures, by the aid of the sapper and of heavy guns, the troops immediately occupying the ground as he advanced, and the mortars being moved from one place to another, as the ground was won on which they could be placed. The buildings to the right, and the Secunderbagh, were taken in the early morning of the same day without opposition.

"During the night of the 12th, Sir James Outram was reinforced with a number of heavy guns and mortars, and directed to increase his fire on the Kaiserbagh; while, at the same time, mortars placed in position at the begum's house never ceased to play on the Imaumbarra, the next large palace it was necessary to storm between the Begum Kotee and the Kaiserbagh. On Brigadier-general Franks, C. B., who had relieved Sir Edward Lugard, and the second division, with the fourth division, on the 12th instant, devolved the duty of attacking the Imaumbarra. A column of attack was formed for that purpose by Brigadier D. Russell on the morning of the 14th.

"In the meantime, the Maharajah Jung Bahadur, with a force of about 9,000 men and twenty-four field guns, drawn by men, had arrived, and taken his position in our line on the 12th instant,

and moved close to the canal on the 13th. At my request, his highness was begged by Brigadier-general Macgregor, C.B., the special commissioner attached to him, to pass the canal and attack the suburbs in his front, and considerably to the left of Banks' House. To this his highness acceded with much willingness; and his force was most advantageously employed in thus covering my left for several days, during which, from the nature of our operations, I was obliged to mass all the available strength of the British force towards the right, in the joint attack carried along both banks of the Goomtee. The Imaumbarra was carried early on the 14th; and the Sikhs of the Ferozepore regiment, under Major Brasyer, pressing forward in pursuit, entered the Kaiserbagh—the third line of the defences having been turned without a single gun being fired from them. Supports were quickly thrown in, and all the well-known ground of the former defence and attack, the Mess-house, the Tera Kotee, Motee Mahul, and the Chuttur Munzil, were rapidly occupied by the troops, while the engineers devoted their attention to securing the position towards the south and west. The day was one of continued exertion; and every one felt that, although much remained to be done before the final expulsion of the rebels, the most difficult part of the undertaking had been overcome.

"This is not the place for description of the various buildings successively sapped into or stormed; suffice it to say, that they formed a range of massive palaces and walled courts of vast extent, equalled, perhaps, but certainly not surpassed, in any capital in Europe. Every outlet had been covered by a work, and on every side were prepared barricades and loopholed parapets. The extraordinary industry evinced by the enemy in this respect has been really unexampled. Hence the absolute necessity for holding the troops in hand, till, at each successive move forward, the engineers reported to me that all which could be effected by artillery and the sappers had been done, before the assault.

"The 15th instant was employed in securing what had been taken, removing powder, destroying mines, and fixing mortars for the further bombardment of the position still held by the enemy on the line of our advance up the Goomtee, and in the heart of the city. Brigadier-general Sir J. Hope Grant, K.C.B., was sent out with cavalry on one side, towards Seetapore, to intercept fugitives, while another brigadier marched with like orders in the direction of Sundeela, on a similar duty. They returned on the 17th to their former positions.

"On the 16th instant, Sir James Outram, with the 5th brigade, under Brigadier Douglas, supported by two other regiments (her majesty's 20th and the regiment of Ferozepore), having crossed over the Goomtee by a bridge of casks, opposite the Secunderbagh, advanced, according to order, through the Chuttur Munzil, to take the residency. During the first movements of this operation, a movement of the enemy in retreat across the stone bridge, became apparent. Sir James was ordered to press forward; and he was able, almost without opposition, not only to take the iron bridge in reverse, which was my principal object, but also to advance far more than a mile, and occupy the Muchee Bowun and Great Imaumbarra. In short, the city was ours. Brigadier-general Walpole's picket, on the left bank, were attacked by the retreating enemy, who was, as usual, heavily repulsed.

"On the 19th, a combined movement was organised. Sir James Outram moved forward directly on the Moosabagh—the last position of the enemy on the line of the Goomtee. Sir J. Hope Grant cannonaded the latter from the left bank, while Brigadier Campbell, moving right round the western side from the Alumbagh, prevented retreat in that direction. The rout was now complete; and great loss was inflicted on the enemy by all these columns.

"On the 16th, for the last time, the enemy had shown in some strength before the Alumbagh, which that day was held by only two of our regiments. Jung Bahadur was requested to move to his left up the canal, and take the position in reverse from which our position at the Alumbagh had been so long annoyed. This was executed very well by his highness, and he seized the positions, one after another, with little loss to himself. The guns of the enemy, which the latter did not stop to take away, fell into his hands.

"On the 21st, Sir Edward Lugard was directed to attack a stronghold held by the moulvie in the heart of the city. This he occupied after a sharp contest, and it now became possible to invite the return of the inhabitants, and to rescue the city from the horrors of this prolonged contest. Brigadier Campbell, with his cavalry, attacked the enemy when retreating from the city, in consequence of Sir Edward Lugard's advance, inflicting heavy loss, and pursued him for six miles.

"I beg to inclose Sir James Outram's own account of his operations, which were removed from my immediate superintendence till he recrossed the Goomtee, prior to the attack of the 16th. It was matter of real gratification to me to be able to intrust the trans-Goomtee operation to this very distinguished officer; and after that had been conducted to my perfect satisfaction, to bring him forward again to put the finishing stroke on the enemy while the extended position in the town was, of necessity, held by the troops, who had won it. My thanks are eminently due to him, and I trust he will receive them as heartily as they are offered.

"I have now the pleasing task of communicating to your lordship the name of an officer to whom, not only as commanding general, but to whom, in truth, the service at large is under great obligation—Major-general Mansfield, the chief of the staff—whose labour has been unceasing, whose abilities are of the highest order, and have been of the greatest use to me during the campaign. It is impossible for me to praise this officer too highly, or to recommend him sufficiently to the protection of your lordship and of the government.

"I desire to draw the particular attention of your lordship to Brigadiers-general Franks, C.B.; Walpole; Sir J. Hope Grant, K.C.B.; and Sir Edward Lugard, K.C.B. Their divisions have been most admirably commanded, and they have on every occasion amply justified all my expectations. Brigadiers-general Walpole and Sir J. H. Grant were employed more immediately under the direction of Sir James Outram, who speaks in the highest terms of the assistance he received from them. Sir J. H. Grant's management of his cavalry and horse artillery is always most admirable. As detailed above, the manner in which the attacks on the main line of operations were directed by Sir Edward Lugard and Brigadier-general Franks reflected the greatest credit on them.

"The officers in command of the cavalry brigades have proved themselves equal to their high position, and are worthy of your lordship's favourable consideration. Brigadier Campbell in command of the cavalry on the left, performed his detached duty with much vigilance and judgment. His march round the city on the 19th instant, which was a running fight for the greater part of the day, was a very difficult one. His pursuit on the 21st of the party which broke away, after being driven by Sir Edward Lugard from Saadutgunge was highly effective.

"Brigadier Hagart has received the marked commendation of Sir J. Hope Grant, and the brigadiers in command of infantry brigades have particularly distinguished themselves under the eyes of their divisional commanders:—Brigadier D. Russel, 1st brigade; Brigadier P. M. Gay, 3rd brigade; Brigadier the Hon. A. Hope, 4th brigade; Brigadier Douglas, C.B., 5th brigade; Brigadier Horsford, C.B., 6th brigade; Brigadier Eveleigh, 7th brigade; and Lieutenant-colonel Longden (H.M.'s 10th foot), attached to the Ghoorika brigade, by order of the commander-in-chief. The head-quarters of the 2nd brigade, with the 5th fusiliers, and 78th highlanders, under Brigadier Franklin, remained at Alumbagh in position, and was well disposed by that officer to resist the enemy's demonstration on the 16th instant.

"To Major-general Sir Archdale Wilson, K.C.B., my warmest acknowledgments are due for the effective manner in which he commanded the artillery division. The four corps—the naval brigade, the royal artillery, the Bengal artillery, and the Madras artillery worked with the greatest harmony under his happy direction as one regiment. The merits of Sir Archdale Wilson are too widely known to gain anything by encomium from me, but I may be permitted to express my great satisfaction at having been able to avail myself of the assistance of this most distinguished officer. The effective fire of the artillery during the long operations, which depended so much on the management of that arm, elicited general admiration. The practice of the 68-pounder of the naval brigade was capital, while the Kaiserbagh and other great buildings which had been stormed, showed in a very convincing manner how truly the shells had been directed by the royal and Bengal artillery. Whenever the field artillery could be used the troop of horse artillery, and the field batteries of royal artillery, the Bengal artillery, and the Madras artillery did the most excellent service.

"Sir Archdale Wilson expresses his great obligations to Captain Sir William Peel, K.C.B., R.N., till that most gallant officer was severely wounded; and to Brigadier Wood, C.B., royal horse artillery, and Barker, C.B., royal artillery, respectively commanding the field and siege artillery brigades. It would be difficult for me to give an adequate idea of the zeal and activity displayed by the chief engineer, Brigadier Napier, Bengal engineers. Many of the operations depended on his proper appreciation of the obstructions to be overcome, and the means at his disposal for that purpose. His great professional skill and thorough acquaintance with the value of his enemy have been of the greatest service, and I recommend him most cordially to your lordship's protection. I am under very great obligations to him.

"The officers of the general departments of the army have accompanied me during the siege, and

I beg to return them my thanks. They are as follows:—Major H. W. Norman, deputy adjutant-general of the army; Lieutenant-colonel W. Macpherson, officiating quartermaster-general of the army; Colonel the Hon. W. L. Pakenham, C.B., officiating adjutant-general of H.M.'s forces; Captain C. F. Seymour, 84th regiment, officiating quartermaster-general of H.M.'s forces; Captain G. Algood, officiating assistant-quartermaster-general of the army; Lieutenant-colonel Keith Young, judge-advocate-general of the army; Lieutenant P. Stewart, Bengal engineers, superintendent of electric telegraphs; Dr. M'Andrew, inspector-general of hospitals of H.M.'s forces. Dr. Brown, the superintending surgeon of the force, has again won my sincere thanks for his admirable arrangements. Captain Fitzgerald, assistant-commissary-general, who has had the disposition of the commissariat in the field, has met every want of the army. He has distinguished himself much, and is a credit to his department. I must draw very particular attention to the services of Major Norman, deputy adjutant-general, who, besides his ordinary departmental duties, has performed the very onerous one of adjutant-general of the army in the field, throughout the campaign.

"To Captain H. Bruce, deputy quartermaster-general, head of the intelligence department, and to Captain G. Algood, officiating assistant quartermaster-general, who performed the duties of quartermaster-general of the army in the field, until the arrival of Lieutenant-colonel Macpherson. These officers have all been most active in the performance of their duties. To my personal staff, and that of Major-general Mansfield, my acknowledgments are due, but more particularly to my military secretary, Colonel Sterling, C.B., and to Captain R. G. Hope Johnstone, Bombay army, deputy assistant adjutant-general to the chief of the staff. These two officers are most indefatigable. A list of the other members of these staffs is appended.

"Finally, I wish to draw your lordship's attention to the conduct of the regimental officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, and to the men of the regiments. Their conduct has been very brilliant throughout. The manner in which the 93rd regiment flung itself into the Begum Kotee, followed by the 4th Sikhs, and supported by the 42nd, was magnificent, and the subsequent attack on the Imaumbarra and the Kaiserbagh, reflected the greatest credit on the regimental leaders of the 4th division, and the soldiers who followed them.

"Corrected lists will be sent immediately of the officers and soldiers who are deemed most worthy of distinction in a force in which every one has a claim.—I have, &c.,—C. CAMPBELL, General,

"Commander-in-Chief in India."

List of the Personal Staff of his Excellency General Sir Colin Campbell, K.C.B., Commander-in-Chief in India; and of Major-general W. R. Mansfield, Chief of the Staff.

"Colonel Sterling, C.B., unattached, military secretary to the commander-in-chief; Captain Sir David Baird, her majesty's 98th regiment; Lieutenant F. M. Alison, 72nd highlanders; Captain W. F. Forster, 18th royal Irish, aides-de-camp to the commander-in-chief; Major J. Metcalf, 3rd regiment Bengal native infantry, interpreter and commandant head-quarters; Lieutenant R. G. Hope Johnstone, Bombay army, deputy assistant adjutant-general to

the chief of the staff; Lieutenant D. M. Murray, her majesty's 64th regiment; Lieutenant F. R. S. Flood (severely wounded), her majesty's 53rd regiment, aides-de-camp to the chief of the staff; Surgeon J. Clifford, officiating surgeon to the commander-in-chief.

"A. C. STERLING, Colonel, Military Secretary.
"Head-quarters, Camp, Lucknow, March 22nd."

The thanks of the commander-in-chief to the army of Oude were communicated to the troops by order of his excellency in the following general order:—

"Camp La Martinière, Lucknow, March 22nd.

"The commander-in-chief congratulates the army on the reduction and fall of Lucknow. From the 2nd till the 21st of March, when the last body of rebels were expelled from the town, the exertions of all ranks have been without intermission, and every regiment employed has won much distinction. The attacks on both sides of the river Goomtee ably conducted by the generals and commanding officers of brigades and regiments, have been sustained by the men with vigour and perseverance; the consequence being that great results have been achieved with comparatively moderate loss. His excellency returns his warmest thanks to the troops. Every man who was engaged either in the old garrison of Lucknow, in the relieving forces, or at the siege, which has now been terminated, may rest satisfied that he has done his duty, and deserves well of his country."

With the conquest of Lucknow, the necessity for further aid from the force under Jung Bahadoor appears to have ceased; and it was determined by the respective chiefs, that the whole of the Ghoorkas should forthwith commence their homeward march, taking with them the plunder they had acquired during their short campaign. On the 23rd of the month, the maharajah, with one brigade of his army, took leave of the commander-in-chief at Lucknow, and proceeded towards Allahabad, for the purpose of making a complimentary visit to the governor-general, then at that city: the remainder of the Nepaulese force marched on the following day *en route* for Fyzabad. The wild and impetuous behaviour of these auxiliaries rendered their departure a relief to the European troops in more respects than one; but the fact of their return homewards was thus graciously announced by the British commander-in-chief, in the following despatch to the governor-general:—

"Camp, Lucknow, March 28th, 1858.

"My Lord,—I have the honour to report to your lordship the departure of his highness Jung Bahadoor from the camp before Lucknow. I desire to take this opportunity to express my thanks to his highness for the assistance rendered to me during

the late operations by him and his gallant troops. I found the utmost willingness on his part to accede to any desire of mine during the progress of the siege, and from the first his highness was pleased to justify his words, that he was happy to be serving under my command. His troops have proved themselves worthy of their commanders, and it will doubtless be a happiness to them hereafter that they were associated with the British arms for the reduction of the great city of Lucknow.

"My best thanks are due to the special commissioner, Brigadier-general Macgregor, C.B., the medium of communication between his highness and myself. I beg to recommend him and the British officers serving under his orders to the favourable consideration of your lordship.

"I have the honour to be, my lord, with the greatest respect, your lordship's most obedient and humble servant,

"C. CAMPBELL, General, Commander-in-Chief."

The Ghoorkas who required a vast deal of assistance in the way of carriage and provisions before they were able to join the British force before Lucknow, experienced nearly as much difficulty in retiring on their own frontier as they had on advancing from it. From the 26th of March to the 12th of April, they continued at Nawabgunge, twenty miles to the north-east of Lucknow, where their services were not required, and they continued to draw heavily both on the commissariat and the treasury. They were, with their followers, about 15,000 strong, and had with them 4,000 carts laden with plunder. The country was swarming with insurgents, and the peasantry, as well as the men in arms, cast longing eyes towards the wealth that was about to be carried off, and were anxious to relieve the unwelcome intruders of incumbrances they were scarcely able to protect. This state of affairs occasioned repeated applications to the commander-in-chief for an English force to aid them in getting out of the country with their booty, and was productive of much annoyance, as interfering with the arrangements for the ensuing campaign. That Sir Colin was heartily tired of his unmanageable auxiliaries is evident from the tone of the following telegram, transmitted by his excellency to the governor-general during the halt of the force at Nawabgunge:—

"Lucknow, April 6th, 1858.

"The Ghoorka force went to Nawabgunge at no solicitation of mine. The maharajah offered to clear the country in its neighbourhood, and gave me to understand he should go home by way of Fyzabad. All this seeming advantageous, I acquiesced willingly in his move to Nawabgunge. Since the Ghoorkas have been there, the British officer in charge has expressed much alarm for the safety of the force, and I have always had troops in readiness

to support it. A retreat by way of Bairan ghât would not be nearly so good for our interests as a movement by Fyzabad, but it is possible the Ghoorkas may fear the latter. Sir James Outram had employed Maun Sing to make it safe for them, and maintain the bridge. I do not wish to be in any way responsible for their movements, which are quite beyond my powers of direction; perhaps it may be better that they should go home as suggested by your lordship. It is not in my power to spare British troops to act in concert with them, with respect to the most recent arrangements."

Renewed applications for aid to enable the Ghoorkas to proceed in safety, eventually induced the commander-in-chief to accede to the wish of the British officer at their head-quarters, and on the 11th of April, General Sir Hope Grant, with a column, consisting of her majesty's 7th hussars, a battalion of the rifle brigade, her majesty's 38th regiment, and the 1st Bengal fusiliers, with an ample train of artillery, was dispatched from Lucknow to clear the way for the Ghoorka army, which was so much embarrassed with camp followers and plunder as to be utterly unable to pursue its way home in safety. This column having cleared the route to Ramnugger about sixty miles from Lucknow, left the Ghoorkas to pursue the remainder of the homeward march by themselves, and returned to Lucknow on the 24th of the month, having had two or three sharp skirmishes with straggling parties of the enemy in the course of their progress across the country.

As soon as the operations of the commander-in-chief had rendered the ultimate conquest of Lucknow a matter of certainty, a proclamation was prepared by order of the governor-general, addressed to the chiefs and people of Oude, explanatory of the intentions of the government towards them, and in due time the document was forwarded for publication. As the Oude proclamations became at a subsequent period a topic of warm and frequent discussion in the British parliament, as well as in India, it is proper that the circumstances under which they originated, and by which they were afterwards accompanied, should be referred to in detail. It will be observed that a difficulty arose upon the very threshold of these proceedings. The proclamation of the governor-general was transmitted by order of his excellency to Sir James Outram, who by virtue of his office as chief commissioner of Oude, had superseded the military authority of Sir Colin Campbell—the supremacy of the latter having ceased with the conquest of the city.

Proclamation.—"The army of his excellency the commander-in-chief is in possession of Lucknow, and the city lies at the mercy of the British government, whose authority it has for nine months rebelliously defied and resisted. This resistance, begun by a mutinous soldiery, has found support from the inhabitants of the city and of the province of Oude at large. Many who owed their prosperity to the British government, as well as those who believed themselves aggrieved by it, have joined in this bad cause, and have ranged themselves with the enemies of the state. They have been guilty of a great crime, and have subjected themselves to a just retribution. The capital of their country is now once more in the hands of the British troops. From this day it will be held by a force which nothing can withstand, and the authority of the government will be carried into every corner of the province. The time, then, has come at which the right hon. the governor-general of India deems it right to make known the mode in which the British government will deal with the talookdars, chiefs, and landholders of Oude and their followers.

"The first care of the governor-general will be to reward those who have been steadfast in their allegiance at a time when the authority of the government was partially overborne, and who have proved this by the support and assistance which they have given to British officers. Therefore the right hon. the governor-general hereby declares that Driglejje Sing, rajah of Bulrampore; Koolwunt Sing, rajah of Pudnaha; Rao Hurdeo Buksh Sing, of Kutia-ree; Kasheepershaud, talookdar of Sissaindee; Zuhr Sing, zemindar of Gopaul Kheir; and Chun-deeloll, zemindar of Moraon (Baiswarah), are henceforward the sole hereditary proprietors of the lands which they held when Oude came under British rule, subject only to such moderate assessment as may be imposed upon them, and that those loyal men will be further rewarded in such manner and to such extent as, upon consideration of their merits and their position, the governor-general shall determine. A proportionate measure of reward and honour according to their deserts will be conferred upon others, in whose favour like claims may be established to the satisfaction of the government.

"The governor-general further proclaims to the people of Oude that, with the above-mentioned exceptions, the proprietary right in the soil of the province is confiscated to the British government, which will dispose of that right in such manner as it may seem fitting. To those talookdars, chiefs, and landholders, with their followers, who shall make immediate submission to the chief commissioners of Oude, surrendering their arms and obeying his orders, the right hon. the governor-general promises that their lives and honour shall be safe, provided that their hands are unstained with English blood murderously shed.

"But, as regards any further indulgence which may be extended to them, and the condition in which they may hereafter be placed, they must throw themselves upon the justice and mercy of the British government. To those among them who shall promptly come forward and give support to the chief commissioner their support in the restoration of peace and order, this indulgence will be large, and the governor-general will be ready to view liberally the claims which they may thus acquire to a restitution of their former rights. As participation in the murder of Englishmen and Englishwomen will

exclude those who are guilty of it from all mercy, so will those who have protected English lives be specially entitled to consideration and leniency.

"By order of the right hon. the governor-general of India.

"G. F. EDMONSTONE,

"Secretary to the Government of India.

"Allahabad, March 14th."

The following explanatory letter, dictated by Viscount Canning, and signed by his secretary, accompanied the proclamation:—

"Allahabad, March 3rd, 1858.

"Sir,—I am directed by the right honourable the governor-general, to enclose to you a copy of a proclamation which is to be issued by the chief commissioner at Lucknow, as soon as the British troops under his excellency the commander-in-chief shall have possession or command of the city.

"2. This proclamation is addressed to the chiefs and inhabitants of Oude only, and not to the sepoys.

"3. The governor-general has not considered it desirable that this proclamation should appear until the capital is either actually in our hands or lying at our mercy. He believes that any proclamation put forth in Oude in a liberal and forgiving spirit would be open to misconception, and capable of perversion, if not preceded by a manifestation of our power; and that this would be especially the case at Lucknow—which, although it has recently been the scene of unparalleled heroism and daring, and of one of the most brilliant and successful feats of arms which British India has ever witnessed—is still sedulously represented by the rebels as being beyond our power to take or to hold.

"4. If an exemption, almost general, from the penalties of death, transportation, and imprisonment, such as is now about to be offered to men who have been in rebellion, had been publicly proclaimed before a heavy blow had been struck, it is at least as likely that resistance would have been encouraged by the seeming exhibition of weakness, as that it would have been disarmed by a generous forbearance.

"5. Translations of the proclamation into Hindee and Persian accompany this despatch.

"6. It will be for the chief commissioner in communication with his excellency the commander-in-chief, to determine the moment at which the proclamation shall be published, and the manner of disseminating it through the province; as also the mode in which those who may surrender themselves under it shall be immediately and for the present dealt with.

"7. This last question, considering that we shall not be in firm possession of any large portion of the province when the proclamation begins to take effect, and that the bulk of our troops, native as well as European, will be needed for other purposes than to keep guard through its districts—is one of some difficulty. It is clear, too, that the same treatment will not be applicable to all who may present themselves.

"8. Amongst these there may be some who have been continuously in arms against the government, and who have shown inveterate opposition to the last, but who are free from the suspicion of having put to death or injured Europeans who fell in their way.

"9. To these men their lives are guaranteed and

their honour; that is, in native acceptance, they will neither be transported across the sea, nor placed in prison.

"10. Probably the most easy and effectual way of disposing of them, in the first instance, will be to require that they shall reside in Lucknow under surveillance and in charge of an officer appointed for that purpose.

"11. Their ultimate condition and place of residence may remain to be determined hereafter, when the chief commissioner shall be able to report fully to the governor-general upon the individual character and past conduct of each.

"12. There will be others who, although they have taken up arms against the government, have done so less heartily, and upon whom, for other causes, the chief commissioner may not see reason to put restraint. These, after surrendering their arms, might be allowed to go to their homes, with such security for their peaceable conduct as the chief commissioner may think proper to require.

"13. One obvious security will be that of making it clearly understood by them, that the amount of favour which they shall hereafter receive, and the condition on which they shall be re-established, will be in part dependent upon their conduct after dismissal.

"14. The permission to return to their homes must not be considered as a reinstatement of them in the possession of their lands, for the deliberate disposal of which the government will preserve itself unfettered.

"15. There will probably be a third class, less compromised by acts of past hostility to the government, in whom the chief commissioner may see reason to repose enough of confidence to justify their services being at once enlisted on the side of order, towards the maintenance of which in their respective districts they might be called upon to organise a temporary police.

"16. The foregoing remarks apply to the talookdars and chiefs of the province. As regards their followers who may make submission with them, these, from their numbers, must of necessity be dismissed to their homes. But before this is done, their names and places of residence should be registered, and they should receive a warning that any disturbance of the peace or resistance of authority which may occur in their neighbourhood, will be visited, not upon the individual offenders alone, but by heavy fines upon the villages.

"17. I am to observe that the governor-general wishes the chief commissioner to consider what has been above written as suggestions rather than instructions, and as indicating generally the spirit in which his lordship desires that the proclamation should be followed up, without tying down the action of the chief commissioner in matters which may have to be judged under circumstances which cannot be foreseen.

"18. There remains one more point for notice.

"19. The proclamation is addressed to the chiefs and inhabitants of Oude, not to mutineers.

"20. To the latter, the governor-general does not intend that any overture should be made at present.

"21. But it is possible that some may surrender themselves, or seek terms, and it is necessary that the chief commissioner should be prepared to meet any advances from them.

"22. The sole promise which can be given to any mutineer is, that his life shall be spared; and this

promise must not be made if the man belongs to a regiment which has murdered its officers, or if there be other *prima facie* reason to suppose that he has been implicated in any specially atrocious crime. Beyond the guarantee of life to those who, not coming within the above-stated exception, shall surrender themselves, the governor-general cannot sanction the giving of any specific pledge.

"23. Voluntary submission will be counted in mitigation of punishment; but nothing must be said to those who so submit themselves which shall bar the government from awarding to each such measure of secondary punishment as in its justice it may deem fitting.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) "G. F. EDMONSTONE."

The terms of the proclamation, and the arguments in support of it, conveyed by the above letter, did not appear to the chief commissioner to meet the requirements of the case; and he accordingly transmitted his view of the exigency for the consideration of government, before giving currency to the proclamation. His letter was as follows:—

"Camp, Chimlut, March 8th, 1858.

"Sir,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 191, dated 3rd instant, enclosing a proclamation to be issued to the landholders, chiefs, and inhabitants of Oude, upon the fall of the capital.

"2. In this proclamation an hereditary title in their estates is promised to such landholders as have been steadfast in their allegiance, and, with these exceptions, the proprietary right in the soil of the province is confiscated.

"3. The chief-commissioner desires me to observe that, in his belief, there are not a dozen landowners in the province who have not themselves borne arms against us, or sent a representative to the durbar, or assisted the rebel government with men or money. The effect of the proclamation, therefore, will be to confiscate the entire proprietary right in the soil; and this being the case, it is, of course, hopeless to attempt to enlist the landowners on the side of order; on the contrary, it is the chief commissioner's firm conviction that as soon as the chiefs and talookdars become acquainted with the determination of the government to confiscate their rights, they will betake themselves at once to their domains, and prepare for a desperate and prolonged resistance.

"4. The chief commissioner deems this matter of such vital importance, that, at the risk of being deemed importunate, he ventures to submit his views once more, in the hope that the right hon. the governor-general may yet be induced to reconsider the subject.

"5. He is of opinion that the landholders were most unjustly treated under our settlement operations, and even had they not been so, that it would have required a degree of fidelity on their part quite foreign to the usual character of an Asiatic, to have remained faithful to our government under the shocks to which it was exposed in Oude. In fact, it was not until our rule was virtually at an end, the whole country overrun, and the capital in the hands of the rebel soldiery, that the talookdars, smarting as they were under the loss of their lands, sided

against us. The chief commissioner thinks, therefore, that they ought hardly to be considered as rebels, but rather as honourable enemies, to whom terms, such as they could without loss of dignity accept, should be offered at the termination of the campaign.

"If these men be given back their lands, they will at once aid us in restoring order; and a police will soon be organised with their co-operation, which will render unnecessary the presence of our enormous army to re-establish tranquillity and confidence.

"But, if their life and freedom from imprisonment only be offered, they will resist; and the chief commissioner foresees that we are only at the commencement of a guerilla war for the extirpation, root and branch, of this class of men, which will involve the loss of thousands of Europeans by battle, disease, and exposure. It must be borne in mind that this species of warfare has always been peculiarly harassing to our Indian forces, and will be far more so at present, when we are without a native army.

"6. For the above reasons, the chief commissioner earnestly requests that such landholders and chiefs as have not been accomplices in the cold-blooded murder of Europeans may be enlisted on our side by the restoration of their ancient possessions, subject to such restrictions as will protect their dependents from oppression. If his lordship agree to this proposition, it will not yet be too late to communicate his assent by electric telegraph before the fall of the city, which will probably not take place for some days. Should no such communication be received, the chief commissioner will act upon his present instructions, satisfied that he has done all in his power to convince his lordship that they will be ineffectual to re-establish our rule on a firm basis in Oude.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) "G. COUPER,
Secretary to Chief Commissioner."

The objections thus urged were replied to by the following letter from the secretary to the governor-general:—

"Allahabad, March 10th, 1858.

"Sir,—Your secretary's letter of the 8th instant was delivered to me at an early hour this morning, by Captain F. Birch, and it will receive a detailed reply in due course.

"Meanwhile, I am desired by the right hon. the governor-general to subjoin a clause which may be inserted in the proclamation (forwarded with my letter, No. 191, of the 3rd instant), after the paragraph which ends with the words 'justice and mercy of the British government.'

"To those amongst them who shall promptly come forward, and give to the chief commissioner their support in the restoration of peace and order, this indulgence will be large, and the governor-general will be ready to view liberally the claims which they may thus acquire to a restitution of their former rights."

"2. This clause will add little or nothing to your discretionary power, but it may serve to indicate more clearly to the talookdars the liberal spirit in which the governor-general is prepared to review and reciprocate any advances on their part.

"3. It is expected that you will find means to translate this additional clause into the vernacular languages, and that you will be able to have copies

of the proclamation, so amended, prepared in sufficient numbers for immediate use. If more should be required, the magistrate of Cawnpore will lithograph them on your requisition.

"4. It is very important, as you will readily see, that every copy of the vernacular version of the proclamation sent to you, with my letter of the 3rd inst., should be carefully destroyed.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) "G. F. EDMONSTONE,
"Secretary, Government of India, with the Governor-general."

Some unexpected delay occurred in the transmission of the detailed reply, which did not reach the chief commissioner until the beginning of April; and during the interval between that time and the beginning of the previous month, the people of Oude remained wholly ignorant of the terms upon which their very existence depended. It, however, at length reached its destination, and was as follows:—

"Allahabad, March 31st, 1858.

"Sir,—In replying at once on the 10th instant to your secretary's letter of the 8th, in which you urged reasons against the issue of the proclamation to the talookdars and landholders of Oude, which had been transmitted to you by the right honourable the governor-general, my answer was confined to communicating to you the addition which his lordship was willing to make to that proclamation without entering into the general questions raised in your letter. The governor-general desires me to express his hope that you will not have supposed that the arguments adduced by you were not fully weighed by him, or that your opinion upon a subject on which you are so well entitled to offer one, has not been received with sincere respect, although he was unable to concur in it.

"2. I am now directed by his lordship to explain the grounds upon which the course advocated in your letter—namely, that such landholders and chiefs as have not been accomplices in the cold-blooded murder of Europeans should be enlisted on our side by the restoration of their ancient possessions, subject to such restrictions as will protect their dependents from oppression—is, in the opinion of the governor-general, inadmissible.

"3. The governor-general entirely agrees with you in viewing the talookdars and landholders of Oude in a very different light from that in which rebels in our old provinces are to be regarded. The people of Oude had been subjects of the British government for little more than one year when the mutinies broke out; they had become so by no act of their own. By the introduction of our rule many of the chiefs had suffered a loss of property, and all had experienced a diminution of the importance and arbitrary power which they had hitherto enjoyed; and it is no marvel that those amongst them who had thus been losers should, when they saw our authority dissolved, have hastened to shake off their new allegiance.

"4. The governor-general views these circumstances as a palliation of acts of rebellion, even where hostility has been most active and systematic. Accordingly, punishment by death or imprisonment is at once put aside by the proclamation in the case of all who shall submit themselves to the govern-

ment, and who are not murderers; and whilst confiscation of proprietary rights in the land is declared to be the general penalty, the means of obtaining more or less of exemption from it, and of establishing a claim to restitution of rights, have been pointed out, and are within the reach of all without injury to their honour. Nothing more is required for this than that they should promptly tender their adhesion, and help to maintain peace and order.

"5. The governor-general considers that the course thus taken is one consistent with the dignity of the government, and abundantly lenient. To have followed that which is suggested in your secretary's letter would, in his lordship's opinion, have been to treat the rebels not only as honourable enemies, but as enemies who had won the day.

"In the course of the rebellion, most of the leaders in it, probably all, have retaken to themselves the lands and villages of which they were deprived, by the summary settlement which followed the establishment of our government in Oude. If, upon the capture of Lucknow by the commander-in-chief, before our strength had been seen or felt in the distant districts, and before any submission had been received or invited from them, the rights of the rebel chiefs to all their ancient possessions had been recognised by the government, it is not possible that the act would not have been viewed as dictated by fear or weakness. It would have led the people of Oude, and all who are watching the course of events in that province, to the conclusion that rebellion against the British government cannot be a losing game; and although it might have purchased an immediate return to order, it would not assuredly have placed the future peace of the province upon a secure foundation.

"6. You observe, indeed, that the landholders were most unjustly treated under our settlement. The governor-general desires me to observe, that if this were unreservedly the case, or if the proceedings of the commissioners by which many of the talookdars were deprived of portions of their possessions had been generally unjust, he would gladly have concurred in your recommendation, and would have been ready, at the risk of any misinterpretation of the motives of the government, to reinstate the talookdars at once in their old possessions. But it is not so. As a question of policy, indeed, the governor-general considers that it may well be doubted whether the attempt to introduce into Oude a system of village settlement in place of the old settlement under talookdars was a wise one; but this is a point which need not be discussed here. As a question of justice, it is certain that the land and villages taken from the talookdars had, for the most part, been usurped by them through fraud or violence.

"7. That unjust decisions were come to by some of our local officers in investigating and judging the titles of the landowners is, the governor-general fears, too true; but the proper way of rectifying such injustice is by a rehearing where complaint is made. This, you are aware, is the course which the governor-general is prepared to adopt, and to carry out in a liberal and conciliatory spirit. It is a very different one from proclaiming that indiscriminate restitution of all their ancient possessions is at once to be yielded to the landowners.

"8. That the hostility of the talookdars of Oude who have been most active against the British government has been provoked, or is excused, by the

injustice with which they have been treated, would seem to be your opinion.

"But I am to observe, that there are some facts which deserve to be weighed before pronouncing that this is the case.

"9. No chiefs have been more open in their rebellion than the rajahs of Churda, Bhinga, and Gonda. The governor-general believes that the first of these did not lose a single village by the summary settlement, and certainly his assessment was materially reduced. The second was dealt with in a like liberal manner. The rajah of Gonda lost about thirty villages out of 400; but his assessment was lowered by some 10,000 rupees.

"10. No one was more benefited by the change of government than the young rajah of Naupara. His estates had been the object of a civil war with a rival claimant for three years, and of these he was at once recognised as sole proprietor by the British government, losing only six villages out of more than a thousand. His mother was appointed guardian, but her troops have been fighting against us at Lucknow from the beginning.

"11. The rajah of Dhowrera, also a minor, was treated with equal liberality. Every village was settled with his family; yet these people turned upon Captain Hearsey and his party, refused them shelter, pursued them, captured the ladies, and sent them into Lucknow.

"12. Ushruf Bux Khan, a large talookdar in Gonda, who had long been an object of persecution by the late government, was established in the possession of all his property by us; yet he has been strongly hostile.

"13. It is clear that injustice at the hands of the British government has not been the cause of the hostility which, in these instances at least, has been displayed towards our rule.

"14. The moving spirit of these men and of others amongst the chiefs of Oude must be looked for elsewhere; and, in the opinion of the governor-general, it is to be found mainly in the repugnance which they feel to suffer any restraint of their hitherto arbitrary powers over those about them, to a diminution of their importance by being brought under equal laws, and to the obligation of disbanding their armed followers, and of living a peaceful and orderly life.

"The penalty of confiscation of property is no more than a just one in such cases as have been above recited; and although considerations of policy and mercy, and the newness of our rule, prescribe a relaxation of the sentence more or less large according to the features of each case, this relaxation must be preceded by submission; and the governor-general cannot consent to offer all, without distinction, an entire exemption from penalty, and the restoration of all former possessions, even though they should not have been guilty of the murder of Europeans.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) "G. F. EDMONSTONE,
"Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor-general."

By the middle of April, the proclamation, aided by the judicious but stringent regulations of the authorities, began to produce a beneficial effect upon the city, into which the fugitive inhabitants were daily returning; and such of them of importance as

had remained concealed upon the entry of the English troops, now came from their hiding-places, to offer homage and seek for pardon. The civil power, efficiently represented, had resumed its authority, and proceeded to restore law and order, and police, and a system of rewards and punishments. Police were enrolled, and thanahs or stations were established; criminals were handed over to the judge or to the triangles: but it could not be expected that after so violent a convulsion, the elements of order could instantly subside into a perfect calm, or that confidence could be universally restored. The whole city had been a chaos—a place of terror and indescribable confusion; and the license inevitable after the storm of a large city, had been magnified even beyond its actual limits. Thousands of the citizens returned to their homes, or to the wrecks of them; but tens of thousands would never return to Lucknow, for the court, and the nawabs and rajahs who once maintained them, were gone for ever, and their palaces were desolate.

Simultaneously with the restoration of something like order in the government of the city, arrangements were made for its future occupancy; and the chief engineer, Brigadier Napier, B.E., submitted to the chief commissioner and commander-in-chief a report on the most practical method of clearing away the obstructions to military operations, so that the troops might act efficiently in case of a future sudden outbreak of the inhabitants. By his plan, the Muchee Bowun, between the old residency compound and the Great Imaumbarra, which was situated upon an elevated portion of the plain in which the city stands, was selected as the key of the British position, diverging from which, wide streets were to be cleared through the winding lanes and masses of houses that intervened between it and the various strategic points, such streets forming military roads connecting the several points with each other and with the Muchee Bowun. On the north side, the Badshabagh (or King's Garden) was to be held as an outpost, and the suburbs on the same side, between it and the bridges over the Goomtee, were to be entirely swept away, and the area cleared—the desolation thus rendered necessary being looked upon as a just and natural consequence of rebellion.

No sooner was the city of Lucknow

clearly and unequivocally again in the hands of the English civil authorities, than Sir Colin Campbell completely broke up the army of Oude. The troops had nothing more to do at that spot, while their services were urgently needed elsewhere. The regiments were reorganised into brigades and divisions; new officers were appointed in lieu of all absent on sick leave; and the dispersion of the army commenced.

Of the troops which remained at Lucknow after the departure of many of the brigades, few escaped the inconveniences attending the heat of an Indian equinox, so severely felt by Europeans. The reaction upon the system produced by a forced calm after a lengthened period of almost maddening excitement, also contributed to furnish its quota to the military hospitals; and many brave soldiers who had passed scatheless through the perils of unnumbered fights, were prostrated by the less glorious, but not less deadly alternative of sickness. The regimental hospitals were most efficient and creditable to the medical department of the service—stores, medicine, attendance, were all in abundance; and for every wounded or sick man there was an attendant to brush away the flies* with a hand punkah, and to fan his face. The food and stores of all kinds, supplied to the army, were acknowledged to be of excellent quality, and furnished most satisfactory tests of the ability and energy of the Indian commissariat.

The escape of the rebel forces from Lucknow, at the close of the siege, was numerically far more extensive and serious than had been expected or wished for by those who looked forward to a speedy pacification of India. How far the result disappointed those immediately responsible for the fact, themselves only knew; but whether it had been foreseen or not, the

* An assistant-surgeon in the division under Brigadier Franks, thus described the torments to which every one in camp was exposed from these annoying insects:—"I write this in my tent in camp (the thermometer is at 100°), not a breath of wind, and the flies—I can pity the Egyptians now—the tent is filled with them, and everything edible covered with them. We drink and eat flies; and, in our turn, are eaten by them. They nestle in your hair, and commit the most decided suicides in your tea or soup. Old-fashioned looking crickets come out of holes and stare at you; lizards run wildly across the tent; and ants, by the thousands, ply their wonted avocations, utterly unmindful of your presence. When night arrives, it becomes a little cooler, the candles are lit, all the flies except the volucres have gone to roost upon the tent poles,

immediate dispersion of large bodies of armed troops over the adjacent districts could not but be productive of renewed anxiety and trouble. From information which reached the commander-in-chief towards the end of March, it appeared that Nana Sahib was then at Bareilly with Khan Bahadoor Khan, and 2,000 men; that the Begum of Oude was at Khyrabad with 10,000 more; that other 2,000 were intrenched at Shahjehanpore; and that Khan Bahadoor and the Nana were arranging a scheme of operations that should have for its theatre the vast province of Rohilkund, the greater part of which still continued, as it had been for the previous nine months, in the hands of the rebels, whose numbers were now augmented by some of the mutinous regiments that managed to escape from Lucknow.

On the 20th of March, the commander-in-chief issued a general order, prescribing to the several columns or divisions of the army that had been engaged in the operations at Lucknow, the duties to which they were to be thenceforth devoted. The 5th and 78th regiments were removed from the Alumbagh to Cawnpore; the artillery in park at the former place was to be divided—some to join the camp at Lucknow, the remainder to move with the head-quarters of the 5th regiment. The troops left at Lucknow, consisting of the 20th, 28th, 33rd, 53rd, 90th, and part of the 93rd, British regiments, with the 2nd dragoon guards, three Punjab regiments of horse, and various detachments of artillery and engineers, were formed into a division under Sir Hope Grant, who had with him Brigadiers W. Campbell and Barker, as subordinate commanders. Sir Edward Lugard was directed to form and command a division, to be called the "Azimgurh field force," to consist of her majesty's 10th

and you fancy that your troubles are over. Vain hope! The tent doors are open, in flies a locust, hops into some dish, kicks himself out again, hitting you in the face, and finally bolts out at the opposite door. Then comes a flock of moths, all sizes and shapes, which dart madly at the lights. At last you put out your candle, and get into bed, when a new sound commences—hum-hum, something soft and light settles on your face and hands, a sensation of red-hot needles intimates that the mosquitoes are upon you. The domestic flea and bug also abound, their appetites quite unimpaired by the climate. Jackals and pariah dogs yell and howl all night. Day dawns and you have your flies down upon you as lively as ever. One needs to be tired, to sleep with such tent comforts, and such pertinacious visitors."

regiment, with detachments of cavalry, artillery, and engineers, and whatever other troops might at the time be in the Azimgurh district. Another division, for service in Rohilcund, comprising the 42nd, 79th, and part of the 93rd infantry, two battalions of the rifle brigade, the 1st Bengal Europeans, two regiments of native infantry, the 7th hussars and 9th lancers, three regiments of Punjab cavalry, with the naval brigade belonging to her majesty's steam-frigate *Shannon*, and detachments of artillery and engineers, were placed under the command of General Walpole. For each of these grand divisions of the army of Oude, a campaign of extraordinary difficulty presented itself, whether as regarded the harassing and desultory nature of the operations which the peculiar tactics of the rebel commanders rendered compulsory, or the heat of the weather, which had now become intense, and materially impaired the energetic action of European troops.

But whatever were the difficulties to be yet encountered, the gratifying fact remained, that the important city of Lucknow, with its palaces and fortifications, and garrisoned by a force at least four times exceeding the number of its assailants, had bowed to the valour of British arms, and was now at the mercy of its captors. Twice had the vast and exulting host of insurgents that had converted it into a sanguinary battle-ground, seen the English columns retire but half victorious from the walls; and it may have been, that, in spite of the loss by which the temporary respite from final defeat was obtained, the rebels yet hoped that mere numbers, aided by the courage of despair, would obtain for them a similar result when the next struggle should occur, and that the survivors of their forces would see the English flag a third time borne backward from their city. They knew, indeed, that the besieging army had been swelled by thousands of men fresh from Europe; but they had also seen their own ranks for many weeks continually augmented by fugitive bands from all parts of India. If, therefore, numbers could avail, they had reason for hope. But whatever their ground of confidence, it must have been dissipated in a moment, when the tremendous power of such an artillery as Sir Colin Campbell had collected were directed against their walls. Before that fire, no native force of India could stand; and thus the myriads who

garrisoned Lucknow were driven from stronghold to stronghold, and from palace to palace, until nothing remained for them but lives preserved to them by precipitate and inglorious flight.

On the part of the English, the victory was assuredly great; and its importance was not confined to the mere fact of the recovery of Lucknow—but it was not without its alloy. Amongst the noble blood poured out amidst the streets and palaces of the city, was some which flowed through the veins of men whose names belong to history, and whose loss to their country was poorly compensated by the capture of a rebellious city, and the dispersion of its ignoble garrison.

Public opinion in India, as represented by the press of the three presidencies, was decidedly adverse to the idea that all had been done which might have been accomplished by the magnificent army under the orders of Sir Colin Campbell. While that imposing array of veteran soldiers, with its Ghoorka and other allies, was surrounding Lucknow, India stood at gaze, and expected, as the consummation of the grand struggle, a carnage in which the revolted army of Bengal would be utterly extinguished; but a road of escape—whether through inability to close it, or at the bidding of a dangerous compassion—was left open, and through it the greater portion of the vast garrison of Lucknow was permitted to retire unscathed into the more difficult region of Rohilcund. According to the estimate of the Calcutta papers, 3,000 rebels perished in the last struggle at Lucknow; a loss which was immediately replaced by the junction of the remainder with the forces of Khan Bahadoor, and other chiefs in arms. The capital had indeed fallen; but Oude still remained unsubdued, and anarchy reigned in all its provinces. The feelings of the people were bitterly hostile to the English rule, and all efforts to conciliate them were for a long time unavailing. The country people around Lucknow, upon whom much depended for the sustenance of the English garrison, would neither bring provisions into the city, nor supply the troops with them; and to such an extent was their vindictiveness carried, that the men in search of food dared not wander from the main body. The proclamation of the governor-general, to which reference has been already made,* was, for a time, supposed to

have strengthened this ill-feeling. "It makes," said a writer in the *Friend of India*, "every man in Oude a declared enemy, and does not exhibit any means by which such enmity can be coerced. As an amnesty, the boon conferred is ridiculous; for what power have we to put to death five millions of human beings? The British government will be held up as both weak and rapacious. As weak, in offering the life it has not the power to take; as rapacious, in seizing estates to which it has no right."

At the end of April, there had been little change in the aspect of rebel affairs throughout Oude. The begum had strengthened

herself in a fortress on the Gogra; the moulvie was at Sundeela, thirty miles north-west of Lucknow; and the principal zemindars still held aloof. On the British side, General Outram had given over charge of the chief commissionership of Oude to Mr. Montgomery, who had already distinguished himself by his able administration in the Punjab; and a new staff of commissioners and their subordinates was appointed, to conduct the civil government of the country as it should progressively fall into their hands through the exertions of the military force, or by the as yet uncertain, unconditional submission of the zemindars.

CHAPTER X.

PROPOSED OPERATIONS OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF; KOER SING; MOVEMENTS OF SIR E. LUGARD; ATROWLIA; AZIMGURH SEIZED BY THE REBELS; ADVANCE OF BRITISH TROOPS FOR ITS RECAPTURE; REPULSE OF COLONEL MILMAN; ARRIVAL OF REINFORCEMENTS; EVACUATION OF THE CITY BY THE REBELS; PURSUIT OF KOER SING, AND REWARD FOR HIS CAPTURE; JUGDESPORE; ARRAH; DEATH OF CAPTAIN LE GRAND; CORRESPONDENCE OF SIR HUGH ROSE; ADVANCE ON JHANSIE; OVERTURES FROM THE RANEE REJECTED; BOMBARDMENT OF THE CITY; ARRIVAL OF REBEL FORCE UNDER TANTIA TOPEE; BATTLE BEFORE JHANSIE; DEFEAT OF THE REBELS; ASSAULT AND CAPTURE OF THE TOWN AND FORT; FLIGHT OF THE RANEE TO CALPEE; CORRESPONDENCE; THE MASSACRE OF JUNE, 1857; PURSUIT BY SIR HUGH ROSE; REBELS DEFEATED AT POONCH; BATTLE OF KONCH; ADVANCE TO CALPEE; FIGHT AND FLIGHT OF THE REBELS; ESCAPE OF THE RANEE TOWARDS GWALIOR; KOTAH; ADVANCE OF GENERAL ROBERTS; BOMBARDMENT OF THE TOWN; ASSAULT AND CAPTURE; FLIGHT OF THE GARRISON; DISTRIBUTION OF THE RAJPOOTANA FIELD FORCE.

IN the first glow of satisfaction induced by the triumph achieved at Lucknow, the anticipations of its results were much too sanguine. The enemy had certainly been driven from their great stronghold; but they were only scattered abroad to wage a fresh and harassing war against European troops, the greater part of whom were scarcely yet acclimated, in numerous detached bodies, and under circumstances in which all the advantage was on their side. Under any conditions, a guerilla war was undesirable; but with the circumstances that then existed, its necessity was inevitable; and, unfortunately, its duration appeared likely to be interminable. The hot weather was just setting in; and during the five succeeding months, in a climate where exposure to the sun is ordinarily deemed fatal, the English troops had the combined adverse influences of the season,

and of a desultory and harassing campaign, to contend with. The province of Rohilcund, which was now regarded as the battle-field of the insurrection, was so situated with regard to the British possessions in India, that from thence strong attacks might be continually organised, and simultaneously made, upon our most important posts, by which on all sides it was surrounded. The policy of the commander-in-chief, which admitted of the possibility of the enemy's escape from Lucknow into Rohilcund, still continued to be largely and widely discussed. By many, it was deemed to be a mistake on the part of Sir Colin; some, more generous, attributed the fact to circumstances beyond his control; while others averred that the evacuation of Oude by the rebels, and their temporary establishment in Rohilcund, was in accordance with the concerted plans of the chief,

and was precisely the movement he desired. Whatever may have been his intentions, it is for us, in these pages, to deal only with his acts.

In order to trace his operations, it may be necessary to recall to memory the general position of affairs at the time of Sir Colin Campbell's victorious advance upon the capital of Oude. There were then four places, and four only, where any considerable body of rebels maintained themselves in attitudes of resolute defiance, and with marked ascendancy over the adjacent districts. Lucknow, of course, was the centre and stronghold of the insurrection, its garrison representing nothing less than the mass of mutineers escaped from Delhi. But besides Lucknow, the fort and town of Kotah, in Rajpootana, and of Jhansie, in Bundelcund, had remained, from an early period of the revolt, in the possession of strong bodies of the insurgents, nor could those provinces be effectually pacified until the garrisons in question had been subdued. Lastly, the nucleus of the old Gwalior contingent, strengthened, no doubt, by large accessions of malcontents and marauders, had taken post at Calpee, from which position it advanced at intervals against the European troops in its vicinity. The places thus indicated were all, on the Indian scale of reckoning, within short distances of each other; and the chief part of the British forces had been for some time distributed over the same parts of the country. It was the policy, however, of the commanders to concentrate their efforts on the one particular operation which was recommended by the greatest urgency, or promised the most important results; and Delhi and Lucknow consequently monopolised, in succession, all the anxieties of the commander-in-chief for the time being. Thus Calpee was disregarded, though Sir Colin Campbell, with an overpowering force, lay for some time within fifty miles of it, and its mutinous garrison was simply held in check by a small corps of observation stationed at Cawnpore; Kotah and Jhansie were left to the operations respectively of Generals Roberts and Rose, who were advancing with columns of succour from the Bombay presidency; and it was reasonably anticipated, that if the main force of the rebels could be crushed at Lucknow, the smaller bodies of insurgents might be dealt with at discretion. Such were the anticipations entertained prior to

the reoccupation of Lucknow. The escape of the greater portion of the rebel troops from that place into Rohilcund, opened a new field for exertion, and materially interfered with the realisation of the original design.

We shall now resume the narrative of active operations in the field during the hot weather campaign of 1858.

On the 10th of April, General Walpole's division, destined for action in Rohilcund, broke up from Lucknow, and commenced the march, of about 150 miles, towards Bareilly, then the principal rendezvous of the insurgent chiefs of the north-west—namely, the Nana Sahib, Khan Bahadoor, the Nawab of Futteghur, and others. At the same time Coke's brigade, leaving its position at Roorkee, crossed the Ganges, and entered the rebellious province from above. The commander-in-chief also ordered his staff down to Cawnpore, intending, with the portion of the army under General Walpole's command, to proceed up the right, or Doab side of the Ganges, to Futteghur; and thence begin the Rohilcund campaign.

But it was not only in a north-westerly direction from his head-quarters at Lucknow that Sir Colin Campbell had to look for rebels to chastise. Fyzabad, on the eastern border of Oude, was occupied by an insurgent force, against which a column, under Sir Hope Grant, was put in motion on the 11th of March; while further away, in a south-easterly direction, the important town of Azimgurh, only fifty-six miles N. by E. of Benares, was closely beleaguered by the rebels, under Koer Sing, who had rendered himself conspicuous among the leaders of the insurrectionary movement, by his conduct at Arrah in the previous July.* Against this chief a brigade under the command of Sir Edward Lugard, was dispatched from Lucknow on the 20th March, and the district consigned to its protection, embraced a wide field for operations in the territory between Goruckpore and Benares, which had been reduced to order by the advance of the Nepaulese force, and the energetic movements of a column under Brigadier Franks. Subsequently, however, as the district became drained of troops by the concentration of the army round Lucknow, the insurgents and mutineers again appeared in arms, and having received an accession of strength from the

* See *ante*, p. 104.

rebel fugitives of Lucknow, they had reoccupied Goruckpore, and marched down to attack Azimgurh. Colonel Milman, commanding a wing of the 37th regiment, quartered in the station, upon receiving intelligence of their intention, on the 20th of the month, marched out to oppose their advance, taking with him, besides his own men, a detachment of the 4th Madras cavalry and two guns. In his anxiety to encounter the rebels, he continued to march forward until, at the village of Atrowlia, about twenty miles from the town, he came upon the advanced guard of their force, which he immediately attacked and routed, but the main body coming up in overwhelming numbers, the colonel was forced to make a precipitate retreat, leaving behind him his guns and baggage. He, however, succeeded in reaching the intrenchments near Azimgurh without any more serious loss. The rebels, numbering 4,000 men, with four guns, then advanced and took possession of the town without opposition on the 26th of March; but on the following day, a force, consisting of 200 men of her majesty's 37th regiment, two guns, and the head-quarters division of the 4th Madras cavalry, under Colonel Dames of the 37th, made a sortie from the intrenchment, driving the enemy before them with ease, in the open country, but, unfortunately, venturing to attack the town, they were repulsed, with the loss of Captain Bedford of the 37th regiment, who was killed in the action, and of eleven of the men, who were also killed or disabled. Colonel Dames then retired to the intrenchment, covered by his guns and cavalry, and there awaited the arrival of reinforcements.

The following extract from a letter, dated Ghazepore, April 4th, affords an interior view of the doings of the rebel chief:—

“Koer Sing has taken possession of Azimgurh. He got hold of the gomasta of the opium agency, and wanted him to pay down 5,000 rupees. Of course, he could not give this large sum, so he tied him to a gun to blow the poor fellow off. Just at that moment our soldiers that were in the fort came out, at the time his men were cooking their dinner, and killed about forty, and in the hurry and confusion, a sepoy that knew him cut the rope with which the gomasta was bound, and he made his escape to Ghazepore. Before this man was tied to the gun, Koer Sing asked him how many soldiers were in the Ghazepore fort, and

about the arrival of the treasure. The man said he did not know. He was then asked, whether there were any steamers lying at the ghât, on which point he could give no information. The chief laughed, and said, ‘Oh! you want to hide everything from me; I know very well, there are only thirty-six soldiers in the fort, and six lacs of treasure kept in the cutcherry near the western gate—what you call Suddur gate.’ So you see, the fellow gets all the news of every place. The Madras cavalry that were at Azimgurh would not fight. Those sent here were all Mussulmen—suspicious-looking fellows. One day a washerman was washing our clothes, when one of them asked, ‘Whose clothes are you washing?’ The answer being, ‘Sahib loges,’ the fellow said, ‘Wash on for a few days more, and then we will see how you will again wash Sahib loges’ clothes.’ Thank God they have gone back to Azimgurh. Four of them wanted to come inside the factory to see the place, but I would not allow them in. I am living in the factory. Do not be alarmed for me. All will be well, by the interposition of Almighty God in behalf of his people.”

Sir Edward Lugard marched from Lucknow, as before stated, in the last week of March, for the purpose of relieving Azimgurh; but found his passage obstructed by the destruction of a bridge over the Goomtee at Sultanpore, a town thirty-four miles south of Oude, on the road to Azimgurh. The consequence was of necessity a change of route, which was notified to the secretary of the governor-general at Allahabad, in the following telegram from Sir Edward Lugard:—

“Sultanpore Cantonments, April 5th, 1858.

“Be so good as to tell his excellency that I arrived here this morning all right, but owing to the bridge having been destroyed by fire, and there being no boats, I could not effect a crossing under a week; I therefore proceeded down the right bank towards Jaunpore.”

Pursuing this route, Sir Edward reached the last named place on the 9th of the month; from whence, on the evening of the following day, he marched to encounter a rebel chuckledar named Gholaum Hussein; but the enemy had no stomach for the fight, and prudently retired with all possible celerity; but not without serious loss of men and guns: the fact was announced by Brigadier-general Lugard, in the following telegram:—

"Camp Pigree, April, 1858.

"I marched to this place yesterday, expecting to find the force under Gholam Hussein, which had plundered and burnt the village of Selmedapore, the previous day, and had actually threatened Jaunpore. On arriving, found that the rebels to the number of 3,000 with two guns were about five or six miles distant. My troops were too exhausted from the excessive heat, and a sixteen miles march to proceed; but in the evening on hearing that there was a movement amongst the enemy, I pursued with three horse artillery guns and cavalry, came up with him, killed about eighty, dispersed the remainder, and captured their two guns, which are now in my camp. One officer, Lieutenant Charles Havelock* killed, and six sowars wounded."

The detour rendered necessary by the destruction of the bridge at Sultanpore, materially retarded the advance of Lugard's corps upon Azimgurh, which he did not reach until the 15th of April; but in the meantime, events of importance were in progress in the immediate neighbourhood of that town, consequent upon the repulse of the troops under Colonel Milman, and the rapid advance of a rebel force under Koer Sing.

As soon as intelligence of the unsuccessful effort of Colonel Milman had reached Benares, coupled with a rumour that the enemy had actually taken possession of Azimgurh, a force consisting of 450 men of her majesty's 13th regiment, and forty-six of the Madras rifles, were at once dispatched under Lord Mark Kerr, to the aid of the English commanders. The reinforcement also took under its charge a train of 300 bullock carts, conveying ammunition and stores for the troops in the intrenchment. Notwithstanding the heavy impediment to rapid movement presented by this large convoy, the troops marched with such celerity, as to arrive within ten miles of the station on the third day after quitting Benares. On the following morning (April 6th) the force reached Azimgurh, where it was confronted by the enemy, who occupied a position of great strength on both sides of the main road; their right resting on a strong walled village, and their left being protected by a ditch and embankment; they had also partly destroyed a bridge in their

rear, to assist them in their retreat into the town, if necessary. The attack was commenced with great spirit by the rebels, whose fire was very severe; but the Europeans maintained their claim to victory, by driving the enemy back into the town with considerable loss. On the British side, one officer (Captain Jones) was killed, and another wounded, and twenty-five men were numbered among the casualties of the day. The position of the convoy was, at one period of the struggle, extremely critical; as, while Lord Mark Kerr was arduously engaged with the enemy immediately in front of him, a large body of the rebel horse moved round to the rear, and made a furious onslaught upon the handful of troops left for the protection of the convoy. The attempt to cut off the latter, was, however, frustrated by the gallantry of the escort, the officer in charge of which (Captain Jones) was killed in the encounter. After this narrow escape from numbers that should have been overpowering and resistless, Lord Mark Kerr succeeded in reaching the intrenchment with his charge, where he remained watching the enemy until the arrival of the larger force under Sir Edward Lugard, enabled him to quit the position for active service. The rebel chief did not, however, wait for an encounter with that general; but after a few days of indecision, the 13th of April was reported as auspicious for the movement of the force; and on that day, Koer Sing and part of his followers quietly evacuated the town; the remainder of his men and guns marching on the 14th, General Lugard being then within seven miles of Azimgurh, which was still occupied by a strong body of insurgents belonging to the place, and several hundred sepoys of the mutinied regiments.

The retirement of the force under Koer Sing was reported to the government by a telegram from the officer commanding at Benares, as follows:—

"April 16th, 1858.

"By express dated this morning the magistrate of Azimgurh reported that a large body of the rebels of that place with two horse artillery guns had marched off, it was supposed towards Ghazepore. It being

* This officer was a nephew of the general whose name is intimately connected with the series of brilliant triumphs, crowned by the timely relief of Lucknow (see p. 41). The lieutenant, at the commencement of the mutiny, was adjutant of the 12th Bengal native irregular cavalry, and was thrown out of the regular service by the revolt of that regiment. He afterwards joined his uncle as a volunteer, and for nine months was more or less actively employed

in and around Lucknow. When General Lugard left the army in Oude, with the column he now commanded, Lieutenant Havelock accompanied him, holding a command in a Ghoorka battalion. In the skirmish near Jaunpore, a lurking scoundrel fired at him from a hut window as he passed, and the shot took effect in his face. He survived the injury but a few hours, and his loss was a cause of deep regret to all that knew him.

uncertain whether any troops can be spared from Azimgurh for the protection of Ghazee pore, and as the safety of that place is too important to be left to chance, the two companies of her majesty's 54th have been ordered to reach Ghazee pore in two marches, and that the soldiers may not be over-fatigued, I have arranged that one-half of them shall ride on elephants or ekahs."

On the 15th of April, as before mentioned, the division under Sir Edward Lugard, came within sight of Azimgurh; and upon his arrival at the bridge of boats which crossed the river Touse at that place, he encountered a portion of the rebel force, which had been left to cover the retreat of Koer Sing. The men fought well, and with more determination than usual; and it was not without a severe struggle, that they were defeated and expelled the city. They retired in good order, and were pursued for about a dozen miles. In the action and pursuit, three of their guns were captured, and a few men killed and wounded. On the side of the British, twenty-five were wounded, among whom were Lieutenant Hamilton, of the 3rd Sikhs, and a civilian named Venables, who had rendered important service in the early days of the revolt; but one only was killed. As the retreat of the enemy was in the direction of Goruckpore, and likely to cause serious embarrassment in that quarter, Sir Edward Lugard dispatched Brigadier Douglas, with the 37th and 84th regiments, and some cavalry and guns in pursuit of them; himself, with the greater part of his force, remaining at Azimgurh, where, by the authority of government, a proclamation was issued, offering 25,000 rupees and a free pardon to any rebel, or other person, who should apprehend and deliver to the British authorities the person of Koer Sing, who, it was supposed, would endeavour to get into the Behar districts with his followers, most of whom were Bhojepore sepoys.

The troops under Brigadier Douglas started in pursuit of the rebel chief, and moved with such celerity as to accomplish a distance of a hundred miles in five days, ultimately overtaking the fugitive and his host on the 21st of April, at a place named Bausdeh, a town on the north bank of the Ganges, equidistant from Ghazee pore on the west, and Chuprah on the east. After a sharp encounter, in which Koer Sing himself was wounded, the enemy was routed, with the loss of a gun and four elephants. A marked instance of native hostility to the English rule was exhibited in this district by the inhabitants of the villages, who rendered

prompt assistance to the rebel chief in crossing the Ganges to his hereditary state of Jugdespore, and furnished him with information that enabled him to escape from a body of Madras cavalry under Colonel Cumberlege, which had been dispatched to intercept his flight. Upon his arrival at Jugdespore, Koer Sing, who it was reported had lost an arm, and been wounded in the thigh in the recent encounter, was joined by several thousand armed villagers collected by his brother, Umer Sing. These men were posted in the jungles which, on a former occasion, had witnessed the disaster of the troops near Arrah.

This latter place was at the time occupied by a British force, consisting of 150 men of her majesty's 35th regiment, 50 seamen of the naval brigade, and 150 of Rattray's Sikhs, the whole under the command of Captain Le Grand. This officer, hearing of the arrival of Koer Sing and his followers at Jugdespore, determined to attack the rebels, and marched for that purpose with his whole force of 350 men, and two 12-pounder howitzers, to encounter not only fearful odds in point of numbers, but also a difficulty he ought prudently to have been cognisant of. In approaching the stronghold of the rebel chief the path for the troops lay through a jungle which swarmed with the concealed enemy. The troops were there taken by surprise and shot down almost without a possibility of resistance. After some ineffectual firing of the howitzers a bugler sounded the retreat, and a panic seemed instantaneously to have seized the whole force, which was thrown into confusion and took to flight, abandoning guns and elephants, on their way to Arrah, whither, to within two miles, they were pursued by the exultant enemy, who shot and cut down the English soldiers without mercy. The men of the 35th regiment suffered most severely in this disastrous affair, more than two-thirds of their whole number being killed or wounded. Among the former were the unfortunate commander of the little force, Captain Le Grand, Lieutenant Massey, and Dr. Clarke. This mortifying calamity, in which the unfortunate commander appeared in the heat of military ardour to have disobeyed the instructions given to him by the superior authority in the district, occasioned much angry comment; and the result was by no means favourable to the professional reputation of the officer in command of the ill-fated men who were sent into the

jungle—as cattle are sent into the slaughter-house—to die.

The following letter supplies a full report of this disastrous affair. It is dated from Fort Arrah, April 26th:—"On the evening of the 22nd instant, a detachment, under the command of Captain Le Grand, marched out with a view of looking up the mutineers at Judgespore. We marched till half-past twelve o'clock, when the detachment was halted for refreshment and rest; and, at five the following morning, we again started, but had not proceeded far, when the enemy were observed in a village two miles from Judgespore, busily employed in throwing up a breastwork, which pursuit we quickly compelled them to abandon. A couple of howitzers were moved up, and some shells were thrown into the village; and the 7th company of the 35th deployed into line, while the Sikhs and sailors advanced in quarter distance column, with the 5th company thrown out, under Lieutenants Ross and Parsons as skirmishers. Upon arriving at the village we found it deserted, so we pushed on where the road led through a grove of mangoes. The skirmishers on the right, observing the enemy in great numbers flocking into a formidable position, opened fire on them, which was taken up by the whole line. The column was then halted, and ordered to form in line; but the men were so impatient, so eager to take revenge, that they paid no attention to the order! A few seconds after a cheer was given by the skirmishers, who perceiving the enemy pushing on in dense masses, were preparing to give them a taste of the bayonet, when the bugle sounded for them to fall back: this was a fatal error, it quite disheartened the men; and the enemy, who had wavered at the cheer and bold front of our men, now grew valiant as they advanced unmolested, and took a position behind trees, brushwood, &c.; and opened a galling fire from two guns, which was soon responded to by our artillery and infantry, and the action then became general. After an hour's fighting they outflanked us on the right and left, and their cavalry made an attempt to get in our rear and cut off our retreat. The order was now given to retire—that order which no English soldier likes to hear, but it was obeyed; our two guns being necessarily left behind, as the horses that dragged them to the place were not now to be found. They were first spiked in the face of the enemy by Sergeant Howleben

and gunners Heytrov and Watson of the artillery, who nobly fell in the act of duty.

"I have proceeded thus far, but I am really ashamed to write further: however, as I have begun I will end it. We began our retreat in a most orderly manner out of the jungle, driving the enemy back wherever they approached too near, till we reached a tank in the open plain, where soldiers, sailors, Sikhs and followers began swallowing stagnant water, as they could get no better, and were fainting with thirst, when a cry was raised that the cavalry was thundering down on us; but no one would rise till Dr. Clarke, running forward, drew his sword, and called on the men to form a square round him. A sort of one was formed, and a volley discharged into the approaching horsemen, which soon made the blood-thirsty villains turn about and be off. After this the retreat was disgraceful; every man had his own way; no commands were listened to; the men were raving wild; and when we gained the main road, a more dreadful scene never before was beheld. The European portion of the force were falling from apoplexy by sections, and no aid could be administered, as the medical stores were captured by the enemy; the dhooly-bearers having fled, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the medical officers to keep them to their post. What was to be done? What aid could be given them? Nothing. There were sixteen elephants, but they carried the wounded; so the poor unfortunate beings were left behind, to be cut to pieces. The buglers would sound the halt, the greatest portion of the Europeans, with about twenty or thirty brave Sikhs, stood; but where was the main body?—advancing on, regardless of their comrades.

"About two miles from the village, on the retreat, Captain Le Grand was shot through the breast, and died; Lieutenant Massey and poor Dr. Clarke, both of the 35th, fell from apoplexy on the road, and were left to the mercy of the enemy. When we had got five or six miles on the road, the soldiers and sailors were unable to load and fire their pieces through exhaustion; while the main body of the Sikhs, who were accustomed to marching under a burning sun, kept a-head with the elephants instead of covering our retreat, and the only time they did so was about three miles from this (Arrah), when there were only about eighty Europeans left from 199. They got off the

road near a large house, and when the enemy approached near enough they brought them down very thickly. The Dinapore folks have it that the 35th ran away from their officers, and left them to be cut up. This is a disgraceful calumny, and I am happy to have it in my power to contradict it. Had the men been handled at the outset as Neille handled his fistful of men, they would have gone through fire and beaten the rebels, though they were twenty times their number. Our loss is immense.

In consequence of this unfortunate mishap near Jugdespore, a new series of operations became necessary; and Brigadier Douglas, crossed the Ganges at Seeua ghât on the 25th of the month, with a strong detachment of the 84th foot and two guns, for the purpose of clearing the jungle, that had been so fatal to our troops. This, however, was a work of time; and it was not until the middle of May that the rebel haunt was effectually broken up.

While the commander-in-chief was arranging, and his lieutenants, diverging from Oude in various directions, were carrying his well-concerted plans into operation, the progress of the war continued active in all parts of the revolted provinces; and although success, as usual, crowned the efforts of British prowess, triumph in one quarter was but a prelude to renewed struggles in another. The whole country was in a blaze of insurrection; and the fires were no sooner trampled out in the east, than they broke out with renewed intensity in the west, and spread north and south in their devastating flight. The region south-west of the Jumna, comprising Bundelcund, Central India, and Rajpootana, was thus specially afflicted.

Among the commanders who eminently distinguished themselves at this period, were General Sir Hugh Rose, commanding the Central India field force, and Major Roberts, who had under him the division of the army known as the Rajpootana field force, both of whom were now to add to the triumphs of the British army in India. The former commander, after a succession of brilliant operations, in various parts of the vast region through which he led his troops from January to March, at length, by press of circumstances, found it necessary to direct his attention to the town and fort of Jhansie, then held by a strong force of the insurgents, under the ranee in person. This extraordinary woman was the

wife or mother of the last rajah, and who appears to have united the martial spirit of her race with extraordinary ability and aptitude for command, had determined upon a formidable resistance to the English troops; and, having a force of near 12,000 men, and a strongly fortified position in which to meet an attack, the attempt to subjugate her was one of no small difficulty. It, however, had to be done; and it was accomplished.

On the 20th of March, Sir Hugh Rose, after disposing of a number of captured forts in his way, arrived before Jhansie with the first division of his force, consisting of horse artillery and cavalry, and at once proceeded to invest the place. The two following days brought with them successively the two remaining divisions of his army; and, as far as was practicable, a cordon was drawn around the city. For want of a plan of the town, repeated *reconnaissances* were necessary, and consequent delay; but on the 23rd, a fire, both vertical and horizontal, was opened from a flanking battery in an excellent position, which told well upon the fortifications of the town, then defended by some 1,500 sepoys, 10,000 Bundelars, and about 500 sowars. The position was strong, the town having a good wall, mounted by many guns;—above the town, and constituting a separate and very formidable point of defence, frowned the huge castellated palace of the former rajahs; and thither, from her palace in the town, the ranee repaired upon the investment of the latter by the British troops. The qualifications of this lady for command at this crisis, were exhibited in two directions—first, by extreme cunning, and secondly, by an indomitable spirit. At first, with a view of feeling her way, the ranee assumed a condescending and even friendly tone to the British commander, and attempted to open a correspondence with him, in which she expressed a desire to visit his camp, for the purpose of an amicable arrangement of the existing difficulty. Sir Hugh Rose, however, knew the cruel and treacherous character of the artful woman, and was probably aware of her real design in this proposition, and he at once put an end to further overtures of the kind by informing the messenger, that if his mistress should presume to enter the British lines, upon any pretext, she would, although a woman and a princess, most assuredly be hanged, in just retribution for

the murders committed by her orders. This, of course, stopped further negotiation of any kind, and the ranee bravely determined to defend herself to the last; nor was there at any time during the continuance of the siege any symptoms of weakness or vacillation on her part, or that of her personal adherents.

A letter from the camp before Jhansie, dated March 26th, says—"The enemy are returning shot for shot, and their guns are admirably managed by a Bengal artilleryman, who has been distinctly seen, through a telescope, laying them so as to make them bear on our positions. We have four batteries round the fort and town, and keep peppering away day and night. A party of the 3rd Europeans is posted under cover of a mound near the fort, and they, with their Enfields, topple over any of the enemy who show their heads about the walls. There were nine mutineers hung on the 24th, and yesterday evening twenty-eight were shot to death by musketry. A tehseeldar, who formerly belonged to our service, but who had been seen with the enemy at Chunderie, leading or encouraging them on, came in a few days ago, with the face of brass, to pay his respects to Sir Robert Hamilton. Sir Robert desired him to be seated, went over to the general's tent, and in less than five minutes the said tehseeldar was seen hanging in silks in a prominent position in front of the enemy, who fired on our people while the execution was being performed. We have a fakir prisoner, who was present in Jhansie when the massacre of our countrywomen and men took place: his life was spared on condition that he would point out where the magazine of the rebels was situated—and I am glad to say his information has proved of some service already; for yesterday, our batteries were pouring red-hot balls and live carcasses into the fort and town, and set the latter on fire in several places. The magazine, has, however, as yet escaped. The 1st brigade joined us yesterday morning; and when their siege train begins to play, we may soon expect the fort to be breached. We moved ground this morning to the right of the fort, and the other brigade took up a position to the left."

By the 28th of the month, two 24-pounders, two 18-pounders, two 10-inch and six 8-inch mortars with some light field pieces, were pouring their iron mes-

sengers of death and devastation upon the town. The fire of the enemy in return was vigorously sustained, and so well directed, that the officers were confirmed in their opinion that some European or well trained native golandauze, commanded their artillery. While this interchange of mischief was carried on with untiring spirit by both parties, intelligence reached Sir Hugh Rose that a large rebel force commanded by Tantia Topee, a relative of Nana Sahib, and his principal agent in seducing the Gwalior contingent from its fealty, was on the way to relieve the city. This necessitated the division of Sir Hugh's army into two parts, one to continue the siege, the other to meet the advancing enemy in the field, who numbered from twenty to twenty-five thousand men. On the morning of the 1st of April, the two forces joined battle; but as General Rose was determined not to cease or slacken the fire of his batteries upon the town, or discontinue the investment of it, he had but a small portion of his troops to oppose to the immensely numerical superiority of the enemy; this portion he, however, manœuvred with the eye of one familiar with the battle-field, and it accomplished gloriously the task assigned to it. Dividing his small force into three divisions, one of which remained to carry on the bombardment of the town, he, with the other two, proceeded to attack the advancing enemy in front and flank. After a cannonade, which the rebels contrary to their custom bore for some time without falling into confusion, the cavalry were ordered to charge. For the first time in the sepoy war, the rebels formed squares, received the charge with the bayonet and twice repulsed the horsemen. The third time the latter came on in front and flank at the same time, the square was broken and the enemy, thrown into confusion, began to retreat. They were, however, rallied and again attempted to hold their ground, but a fourth charge utterly routed them, and they fled precipitately towards the river Betwa, in which hundreds who had escaped the sword met with a miserable death. The rear brigade of the enemy, in which were two regiments of the Gwalior contingent, was at the same time cut up and dispersed by the second division of the British force, after a short but desperate resistance, in which they exhibited extraordinary resolution, and many instances of individual bravery, that would have been honourable had their arms

been otherwise directed. The routed sepoys in vain sought by flight to reach a ford of the river Betwa, up to which point the cavalry and horse artillery followed in pursuit, through the blazing jungle, which had been fired by the enemy to cover their retreat. The whole line of flight was strewed with dead bodies, chiefly those of sepoys, and it was estimated that the sanguinary result of that day showed a loss to the enemy of at least 1,500 men, besides the whole of their guns, eighteen in number, and a large quantity of ammunition.

The following telegram from Sir Hugh Rose, announced to the government the victory of the 1st of April:—

"This morning at daybreak, the force, under my orders, fought a general action with the so-called Peishwa's army, and by the blessing of God gained a complete victory. The rebels are stated to have numbered from 20,000 to 25,000 men; they were under Tantia Topee, Nana Sahib's relative, and their object was to relieve Jhansie. I did not discontinue the siege nor investment of Jhansie, consequently the force with which I fought was extremely weak. The rebels, amongst whom were the grenadier regiment, and another regiment of the Gwalior contingent fought, except the cavalry, desperately; but I turned their left flank with artillery and cavalry, and after making two stands they broke and fled, defending themselves individually to the last. I pursued them to the river Betwa, taking all their guns, eighteen in number, and an English 18-pounder of the Gwalior contingent, drawn by two elephants, an 8-inch mortar, and quantities of ammunition, including shells, 18-pounder shot, ordnance park, and two more elephants. Two standards were also taken: the enemy tried to stop our pursuit by setting the jungle on fire, but nothing could check the ardour of the artillery and cavalry, who galloped in pursuit across the country in flames. I cannot calculate at present the enemy's loss in killed, but it must have been very great, as the country is strewed with dead bodies, chiefly those of sepoys. As I now shall be free from the attacks of a numerous attacking army, I hope to conclude speedily the siege of Jhansie."

Relieved by this brilliant action, which did not cost the life of a single officer, nor apparently of many men, from any danger of further interruption to his operations before Jhansie, Sir Hugh steadily continued to keep up the fire of his batteries upon the city walls, and prepared for the assault which was to give the place into his hands. The defeat of Tantia Topee, was productive of results more favourable to the designs of the English general than he had ventured to anticipate. The ranee, shut up within the place, well knew that the rebel chief was hastening to her assistance, and from his overwhelming superiority of

force, she calculated that he would be able to defeat and drive away the besiegers; but the, to her, disastrous termination of the struggle on the 1st of April, entirely thwarted all her arrangements, and utterly dismayed the tiger-hearted woman who was thus left to her own resources.

The 2nd of April was passed over without any active operations, that the troops might recover from the fatigue of the preceding days; but, at daybreak, on the 3rd, an order was issued for the assault. Three guns, fired in succession from the 18-pounders, in the breaching battery, gave the signal, and the columns rushed forward. A tremendous fire was immediately opened upon them from the walls, and the resistance at each of the four points of attack was most desperate. On the right, the first attempt to escalate was unsuccessful. The ladders broke behind the three men who first mounted (two officers and a private of the Bombay engineers), and they were cut to pieces upon the wall. At another point a young officer, Lieutenant Dartnell, of the 86th regiment, had mounted the ladder before him, which also broke, and feeling that it was giving way the young hero sprang at the battlement, and having clutched it, obtained a footing on the wall. There, attacked by a dozen sepoys, he stood at bay, cutting down every man who approached, till some men, furious at the sight of his peril, scrambled up the remains of the ladder, and cleared away his assailants by the bayonet. On the left of the attack the 86th and 25th native infantry had made their way good through a breach, and had escalated the neighbouring curtain; and the ladders on the right having been again placed, the wall was rapidly surmounted by the 3rd Europeans and the Hyderabad infantry; and the four columns, driving before them the stoutly-resisting enemy, converged upon the ranee's palace, which had been appointed as the rendezvous, and was defended by 3,000 men. Here the last stand was made, and when the huge building was at length carried, all resistance ceased, and the city lay at the mercy of its captors; but the ranee, who had removed previously, from the palace to the fortress without the city, had fled during the previous night, with 2,000 of her adherents, towards Jaloun. A lamentable catastrophe marred the satisfaction that would have ensued from this success. As the enemy retired, pursued by the British,

a fearful explosion sent conquerors and conquered, masonry, dead bodies, and living men into the air together. The sepoys had blown up the magazine; and, by this desperate act, nine officers and 200 men were killed and wounded. Not an officer of the 86th regiment escaped without injury. It was now discovered that the ranee had fled, with such of her troops as could break through the cordon which Sir Hugh had endeavoured to draw round the place. In the endeavour of the rest of the garrison to escape, the slaughter was terrible, inasmuch that, during the storming of the fort, and pursuit of the garrison, more than 3,000 of the rebels were laid low, besides the 1,500 slain during the battle. Much of this slaughter was within the city itself, for it was believed by the soldiers that the townspeople had favoured the rebels, and countenanced the atrocities perpetrated by them upon the unfortunate Europeans who were murdered in the previous June;* and the men took severe vengeance before their officers could check the waste of life. Of course, all this desperate work could not be carried on without some loss on the part of the British troops also, and many brave but impetuous men fell in the murderous conflict that for some hours raged throughout the streets of the city. Fortunately the sudden evacuation of the fort lessened the chance of serious loss in that quarter, for it was capable of holding out against attack for a long period, had the nerve of the rebels been equal to the trial. In a telegram from Sir Hugh Rose to the governor-general, the former observes—"Jhansie is not a fort, but its strength makes it a fortress; it could not have been breached and could only have been taken by mining and blowing up one bastion after another. The following details of this spirited assault are collected from various sources and as they are evidently the results of personal acquaintance with the subject, may be deemed uninteresting. The first communication is from a correspondent of the *Naboy Telegraph*, who writes thus:—

"The town of Jhansie was stormed on the 3rd instant, by the first brigade on the left, and by the second brigade on the right. The signal was three guns, just as day dawned. The arrangements appeared to be exceedingly good. The first brigade were told-off in two storming parties of the 86th regiment and 25th native infantry, each

with their supports and reserves of the same corps; one to enter the breach on the mound, under Colonel Lowth of the 86th regiment, the other to escalate the wall between that and the fort, under the command of Major Stuart of the 86th. When the signal was given, Major Stuart moved off from behind the battery, where all had been lying down; Lieutenant Edwards, R.E., with his ladders, with a firing and covering party of the 86th regiment in front. The ladders were put to the wall beautifully, and Lieutenant Dartnell of the 86th, with some men, got on the top at once, where the resistance for a short while was desperate—stones, stink-pots, grenades, rockets, and every conceivable missile being hurled at the assailants. Unfortunately, two or three of the cross-bars of the ladders broke, which prevented Lieutenant Dartnell from being supported for a few seconds, and during that time he was nearly cut to pieces; but the men poured over the wall, the enemy gave way, and were closely followed through the streets below. The resistance at the breach was not so great; and one-half the party moved to the right to clear the inside of the walls in the direction of the right attack; the remainder moved to their front, clearing the houses as they went along, until they came to an open space below the fort-gate. Here they killed numbers of men who were making their way to the fort, and in their ardour made a rush at the gate, from which a murderous fire was poured on them, and the men were dropping fast. One of the men fell at the very gateway. As there were no supports up, it was deemed expedient to sound the 'retire;' and, taking their dead and wounded with them, they fell back a couple of hundred yards under cover. That was a fatal rush for the 86th, as two officers and upwards of twenty men were wounded, besides three killed. The fighting was desperate, and the fire from the fort came from upwards of 2,000 men. At the same time a cross-fire from the palace and the adjacent buildings was kept up. Dr. Cruikshank was wounded in the back while dressing a wounded man, by someone from a window behind him; and Dr. Stack of the 86th was shot dead from the fort while performing the same office. The royal sappers were indefatigable, and pulled down walls and made loopholes for the rifles in all directions. During the whole of this time General Rose was walking about among the men as cool and unconcerned as if

* See vol. i., p. 273.

nothing was taking place. While the left attack had made such progress, the right had altogether failed; their ladders were too short, except one, and up that one Lieutenant Micklejohn and a man of the 3rd regiment had got, when it broke, and these two were literally cut to pieces. The walls swarmed with the enemy, and they kept up a heavy fire on those below. Lieutenant Fox, Madras sappers, had got to the top of a ladder, but was cut down; and six sappers were killed at the same time. There was some mismanagement about these ladders which has not yet been explained. The party of the 86th regiment, who had moved to their right from the breach, now came up inside, and made short work of the rebels. Thence they moved on the palace; the fighting there was hand-to-hand, inch by inch being disputed by dismounted sowars, who cut with their tulwars in the most determined manner. It was here poor Colonel Turnbull, of the artillery, received his mortal wound, while giving some directions as to the breaking open of some of the doors—a shot from a window above entered his left hip. He was taken to his tent, and died at three o'clock the following morning. The palace was at last broken into, and in the inner court another struggle took place, the rebels fighting to the last. A few of the 86th followed into a low room on the left, and in an instant the whole were blown up. Another party went to the stable-yard, and there never was more desperate fighting seen. This place was filled with sowars, who fought to the death. Many men of the 86th were cut down in attempting to go into the stable after them, and seeing their companions fall drove the others desperate. The general coming up, ordered the place to be set on fire, when the rebels charged out, but were shot down at once; one or two, however, preferred dying in the flames. About thirty horses were taken out of the adjoining stables and stowed away. A chain of pickets was now thrown across the town from the palace to the wall on the north side, thus securing to us one-half of it; but in this half there were many fighting-men concealed; and fighting continued throughout the whole night. While all this was going on in the town, they were not idle in the camp. The whole of the cavalry were in their saddles, and the artillery also were ready to move at a moment's notice; and the left attack kept up a heavy

shelling on the fort. Some 500 or 600 of the rebels got over the walls, and made for a rocky eminence about two miles distant, our cavalry pickets keeping them in on every side. While the Bombay artillery were being sent for, up comes Woolcombe with his battery, and the execution he did was frightful. Here were some 500 men on a small hillock, and six guns blazing shrapnel into them. They fell not by twos and threes, but by dozens, and at last implored for mercy; but Woolcombe was as deaf to them as they were to the cries of the Europeans at the 'Jakenbagh' less than a year ago; and when darkness compelled him to desist, nearly 500 human beings lay dead, and the few that did leave were cut up by the pickets. When the 4th dawned on the city, one-half of it was in ashes; but still the report of musketry was heard from different quarters. From the position held by the 3rd regiment (the extreme right of the line of pickets), could be seen the sentries of the enemy on the town wall, about a mile distant; but they did not stay long. The general, with the 24th native infantry, two guns, and some of the 3rd regiment, moved on them along the walls outside; and Brigadier Stuart, with a small party of the 86th, crossed that part of the town of which we had not taken possession; but the rebels did not stand—numbers of them were cut up by the 3rd regiment and the 24th native infantry, the remainder ran, and were cut up by the pickets. In this manner fell the town of Jhansie. That night there was a good deal of firing at the cavalry pickets outside; but altogether the place was quieter than on the night before. At dawn on the morning of the 5th, it was reported that the fort was evacuated. Brigadier Stuart, his staff, and Colonel Lowth, with some thirty men of the 86th regiment, the adjutant of that corps carrying the union-jack, left the palace and marched through the gates of the fort. They then planted the colours in the queen's name, with three times three, on the square tower. So much for the last stronghold of the mutineers. The ranee made her escape at nine o'clock the night before on horseback, with a very small escort. It happened to be the first really dark night since our arrival; but still it is a marvel how she got past the pickets. She has gone to Calpee, and there we hope to come in contact with her. From the time this little army arrived at Jhansie, the 25th

of March, not less than 5,000 men have fallen; but we also have suffered a great deal. There are five officers killed and twenty-five wounded; 200 European soldiers killed and wounded; and a hundred natives. The 86th and 14th dragoons have been the principal sufferers; the former corps alone having had one officer killed and five wounded. Search has been made for the bodies of the Europeans who were murdered, and they have been found exactly in the place pointed out. A mutineer who was present gives a description of how they met their death. It is much the same as we at first heard, except that Captain Skene did not shoot his wife and himself. The quantity of loot in the fort and town is immense; already upwards of fifty lacs have been found."

The following extract vividly describes the assault and capture of the town:—"At two o'clock A.M., on the 3rd, one was awoke with the words 'assault immediately.' We were to storm in three places. At the right attack by the 3rd Europeans with scaling-ladders; at the left attack a party was to storm the breach, and 350 men of the 88th and 25th native infantry, under Major Stuart, of the former, to escalede at another part of the town. The light company of the 88th went first, then a hundred of the 25th native infantry, under Lieutenant Fenwick, and then two reserves of seventy-five men from each regiment. This party got quietly within 350 yards of the wall, which is about twenty-three feet high, just before daylight; and on the signal being given, away they went. We advanced steadily until about 150 yards of the town, when Major Stuart roared out, 'Now, lads, for an Irish yell;' and a yell was given that might frighten Beelzebub himself. A terrible fire was instantly opened upon us, and when we got close to the wall, stinkpots, rockets, and red-hot balls came down upon us in showers, and a good many casualties took place. We, however, managed to place the ladders, and up them rushed Dartnell, 86th; Fowler, 86th; Sewell, 86th; Webber, R.E.; and Stuart, 86th; followed by the men. Dartnell was the first man up, and received four severe sword-cuts. Fowler shot one or two of his opponents, and saved his life; but he will lose the use of his left hand. After some hard fighting, we gained the wall; the party attacking at the breach having got in there without much resistance, came to help us. We then all went on

together clearing the town, when we suddenly got under fire from the fort, from which we quickly retired, but not before losing three men killed, and Darby, Sewell, and Holroyd, all of the 86th, with many of their men severely wounded. Sewell was badly hit; but young Jerome, and a man names Burnes, of the 88th, carried him off at the risk of their lives. We then managed to take up a position in a street, and here poor dear Stack was killed, tending a wounded man. Meantime old Lowth, as brave a man as ever lived, had attacked and gained the palace. Here Turnbull, of the artillery, was killed, and a number of our men blown up by a magazine. I went with a hundred men to clear out a part of the town. This house-fighting was no joke; but we killed more than 200 of the enemy. All are full of the praise of the 86th, and richly they deserve it; for no men could have behaved better. They have lost one officer, and twelve men killed, and six officers and eighty men wounded, all but seven most severely. To our great delight, on the morning of the 5th, we found the enemy had left the fort; for had they not done so, we would not have got in for ten years. Dartnell deserves the Victoria Cross, and we all hope he will get it."

Another sharer in the struggle says—"On the 3rd of April, about two in the morning, we were all roused from our beds without a bugle sounding, and were told that Jhansie was going to be taken, which is very large, and lies to the left of the fort. The cavalry and artillery in both camps were to surround the camp side of the fort, and it was, of course, necessarily all infantry work. There were to be four separate attacks, and the cavalry on the opposite side were to make a false attack, to withdraw the enemy. At daybreak in went the infantry on all sides, and the most furious fire of musketry commenced: we could see nothing, of course, with the exception of fires breaking out here and there, then an explosion, then you heard a distant yell and hurrah, and I declare the excitement was so great, we could not remain in our saddles. Soon, however, our excitement was changed, for the dhoolies came pouring in, and we soon saw that much had happened which was not expected—first, the ladders had almost all broken on being mounted; four out of five with the 3rd Europeans, and one with the 86th, connected with which there is a fine story. The young officer, only

nineteen, who was leading, feeling the ladder break, gave a spring into the centre of the enemy, and there stood his ground most splendidly; but not, however, without getting tremendously cut and shot in the body, for it was almost a minute before the brave 86th could get to his rescue: but to hear the fellows speak of him, hardly one could mention him without turning away. His life was saved by his wearing a leather helmet, which was cut all over. The other ladders were not so fortunate, for the sappers who led got in before they broke, and it was long before the 3rd Europeans could get them up, as the brutes were throwing stones and firing heavily upon them. In the meantime, three engineer officers were killed—no, two killed, and one almost dying now. So fearfully hacked, not a vestige hardly left of them—both young fellows, Dick and Micklejohn. Well, when our fellows did at last gain an entrance, they were met on all sides by overwhelming numbers—but what cannot British pluck do? Nothing, from all accounts, could exceed the gallantry shown by every officer and man, and with fearful odds—only one officer escaped being wounded out of all the 86th. Well, our object was the palace; and at last, after tremendous fighting, they reached it, and found 3,000 men defending it. A tremendous rush was made, and it was carried; but in the middle the villains blew up the magazine, killing themselves and many of the 86th. I can give you but a very poor idea of the affair, but you can guess what it was when there was hand-to-hand fighting for four hours, and then killing the rest of the day; they say there could not have been less than 2,000 to 3,000 killed; they are lying in heaps of from 50 to 60. We have suffered severely; but the loot is immense. Six elephants, a great number of horses, the whole of the ranee's jewels (300 pieces), and loads of every description of merchandise, they say, already amounting to some twenty lacs, and the fort is not yet taken. Well, in the meantime the fellows began to escape, and we heard the outposts were cutting up a great number, and of course were anxious to be off ourselves. At last a report came that some hundreds were escaping not far from us. We immediately went off at a canter, with three guns and some infantry, and found the irregulars had killed about fifty, and driven the rest up into a hill which they had surrounded. You never saw fellows in such a

trap in your life; and there was no possibility of escape: there they were, waving flags and so on. We wanted them to come down, and some did, but the others hoped it would be dark before we could finish them off, and that then some of them might escape. We shelled them, sent round shot, canister, and every conceivable thing into the midst of them, killing numbers; the infantry then went up (only native), and we could not get them up without much persuasion; but at last they reached the top and swept steadily along; as fast as they sent them to our end, we killed them. At the end there was a sort of cave place, which the infantry could not at first get at; and there only seven were afterwards found, all the rest having been killed. We did not know what to do, as the infantry did not like facing it; and the sun was just setting, when up galloped some messengers, calling out that the 2nd brigade camp was attacked, and that the artillery and cavalry were to move up as fast as possible. Imagine the feeling after having been in our saddles since three in the morning! Away we galloped as fast as we could go; and on reaching the camp found that 4,000 men, with two guns, had really approached it, but that they were the force of the Jeri rajah, who was favourable to us, and was coming to our aid. We were not sorry to find such was the case; and so leaving the fellows in the cave to the 24th native infantry, we returned to our own camp, where I can tell you I slept last night as soundly as any man could sleep in any place whatever. We shall have very hard fighting yet, but a man must be blind indeed not to see that there is an overruling Providence over us. You see men having such wonderful escapes, and indeed the whole force brought out of difficulties almost insuperable. May we be truly thankful for these mercies, and may these fearful scenes work in us that for which they are intended. I speak from sad experience, that they tend much to harden the heart. I cannot describe to you the scenes of bloodshed around me. I have seen death in every form. Yesterday, the poor fellows who were blown up were a most frightful sight, hardly a bit of skin left; and suffering such agonies! A soldier's life on service, though exciting, is a painful one; but we have here the satisfaction of knowing that what is now inflicted by us is no more than well deserved punishment."

In addition to the above the following

account of the conduct of the European soldiers, when once within the place, deserves preservation in a history of the sepoy war. It is given upon the authority of a correspondent of the *Bombay Standard*. "When the town was captured, and the actual fight was over, a great many of the inhabitants were found to be in a state of complete destitution. Both those reputed wealthy, and the very poor were all suffering alike, and it was strange to see our men serving out food for mothers and their children by the light of their blazing houses, and frequently beside the bodies of their slaughtered husbands or parents. Yet such assuredly was the case."

We shall close these interesting extracts, with the following passages from a report of Captain Pinkney, superintendent of the Jhansie district, relative to the barbarities practised near the town in June, 1857:—"I am now at Jhansie, and I have made searching inquiries to ascertain what really took place at the massacre in question, and I find that the circumstances attending it were as follows:—On the officers and others who were in the fort with their families, being unable to hold out longer on account of want of food, they surrendered to the mutineers and rebels, the latter swearing that they would spare the lives of all women and children. No sooner, however, were the fort gates opened, than the mutineers entered, and proceeded to bind the men, whom, with the women and children, they immediately took to a place outside the town wall, called the Jokunbagh. There they separated the men from the others—the women and children being yet unbound. The mutineer cavalry and infantry with the police and some armed servants of the ranee then surrounded their male prisoners, and a scoundrel, named Buckshish Ali, the gaol darogah, commenced the work of slaughter by cutting down Captain Skene, as he stood bound and defenceless before him. This was the signal for the rest, and the whole of the gentlemen were immediately slaughtered. The women and children were next turned upon, and the swords and spears of the cowardly ruffians quickly put an end to their existence. When the atrocity had been thus far perpetrated, the dying and the dead were indiscriminately stripped, and the bodies were then left in the Jokunbagh, until the third day after the massacre, when they were thrown into two pits near a nullah which ran by the

place. The females were not taken before the rance, nor were their faces blackened, nor were they dishonoured as it has been erroneously reported." This statement is valuable, as corroborating in all material points the original statement in these pages.* The total number of Europeans murdered upon this occasion was sixty-seven, of whom one half were women and children. Shortly after the reoccupation of Jhansie by the British troops, Sir Robert Hamilton caused the ground around the place of interment to be cleared, and a wall was built to inclose it, after which, himself and the whole staff of officials at the station on an appointed day attended an impressive funeral service over the remains of the victims of treachery and cowardice.

Continuing the record of the movements, and operations of the rebels, it was found that on the 9th of April, the fugitive ranee of Jhansie had arrived at Calpee with about 2,000 men; and at the same time, it was reported that the fort at that place was occupied by an entire regiment of the Gwalior contingent, and that between the fort and town, half another regiment of the contingent, and a new levy of the same strength, with six guns, were in a strong position. Further down the banks of the Jumna, the bridge over which had been destroyed, there were in position 350 men, of a regiment called Godfrey's regiment, the remainder of which was stationed at a point called Indur Chowrassie. Outside the city were 500 Willayatees, and 1,000 newly-raised horse, and inside were 350 Mewatties, and two parties of the same, numbering 150 each, under the command of the rajah of Kurrukpore and another. Twelve elephants were with the force which was under the supreme command of Rao Sahib, nephew of the Nana, during the absence of Tantia Topee. The chief authority in the city was held by a pundit, named Dada Sahib. The force of the ranee of Jhansie was stationed with its two guns at Murgaoon, a short distance from Calpee, on the Jhansie road, where it threw up entrenchments, and awaited the expected approach of Sir Hugh Rose, whose movements are explained in the following telegrams from that officer:—

"Poonah, 6th May.

"As soon as Jhansie, and my sick and wounded, whom I leave there, and the road from Jhansie to Goonah were secured from the advance of the

* See vol. i., pp. 272, 273.

Kotah rebels, and the late garrison of Chundeeree which made incursions on the road after the capture of Jhansie, I marched with the first brigade from Jhansie to Poonch on Calpee. I had previously, on the 21st ultimo, sent Major Gall with two squadrons of the 14th dragoons, and three nine-pounders, on the road to Calpee to watch the movements of the enemy, and to support Major Orr, whom I had sent from Jhansie across the Betwa to Mhow, to clear that part of the country of rebels, and with orders to rejoin me on the road to Calpee. Major Orr found no rebels. My second brigade, with the exception of the portion left for the protection of Jhansie, having joined me to-day, I march to-morrow against Konch, where Tantia Topee and the ranees of Jhansie, have concentrated a considerable force of sepoys, for the purpose of opposing my advance to Calpee. Sir Robert Hamilton, at my request, has written to General Whitlock to move on."

The advance upon Konch took place as intended, on the following day. The rebels had thrown up strong entrenchments for protecting the town from the Aile and Jhansie roads by which Sir Hugh was marching on it. These, however, were carried by a flank movement, and the attack upon the town, and its results are described in the following telegram, dated:—

"Konch, May 8th.

"After having driven the enemy's infantry and cavalry out of the woods into the town, with artillery fire, I stormed the town with my first brigade in skirmishing order, covered on each flank by cavalry and artillery; my second brigade, and Major Orr supporting. The Calpee sepoys, seeing they were on the point of being cut off from Calpee, returned in a mass in that direction, and the town was in our hands in less than an hour.

"I pursued the enemy with horse artillery and cavalry for more than eight miles, the former firing into them, the latter charging them. The artillery and cavalry were so completely exhausted by the long day's march, the intense heat and the day's operations, that they could go no further. We took eight guns and quantities of ammunition and tents. I had few killed or wounded, but some Europeans were among the former, and others as well as officers were struck down by the sun, which was 115 degrees in the shade. I march on Calpee to-morrow."

A subsequent telegram, dated Oraia, May the 10th, states:—

"Four more guns abandoned by the enemy have been taken. The inhabitants of this place report that the sepoys, after their defeat at Konch, passed through there with numerous wounded in a state of despair, declaring that an entire battalion, the 32nd Bengal native infantry, had been destroyed, and now they had no refuge but the Jumna. The enemy's at Konch, according to to-day's account, was 700 killed besides their wounded. We would have destroyed nearly the whole of them, only that the intense heat, and the great fatigue, paralysed the strength of both men and horses."

An officer in the brigade describes the affair at this place, as follows:—

"Konch, May 7th.

"On the evening of the 5th, at camp Poonch, on the Calpee-road, the 2nd brigade, with the addition of 400 men of the 71st regiment, joined us. In the evening orders were issued for the 1st brigade (accompanied by the division head-quarters) to march for the village of Lahorrie, the road to which strikes off to the left, and at nearly right angles with the Calpee-road. At Lahorrie we passed the 6th; and on that evening orders were issued to march on Konch, about nine miles; and it was only then we guessed why we had left the direct road to Calpee; it was a flank movement, caused by information having been received that there were at Konch 2,000 infantry and cavalry (mutineers) with the ranees, Tantia Topee, and several others of note, eleven guns, and some of heavy calibre. As it turned out, the plans seem to have been that the 1st brigade turned the flank of the enemy's position to the left; the 2nd marched on the direct road to it, and Major Orr, who was already on his right flank, closed in, and the position was attacked at the three points at once. This morning our advance guard was stronger than usual, and was composed of one troop of the 14th dragoons, a hundred Hyderabad cavalry, two companies of the 86th, and one company of the 25th regiment, besides a company of sappers, and two guns horse artillery. At dawn on the 7th we arrived at a tope about a mile and a-half from Konch; and halting there, had grog, biscuit, and two hours' rest. The country about was beautiful; a dead level, and every yard turned up for cultivation. The town of Konch stretching for about a mile, and nearly hidden by trees, lay on our right, and from the centre rose the ruins of a fort with a flag flying from a height. At a ruined village close to where we rested were seen, in front of the trees, bodies of the enemy's cavalry, with their sabres glistening in the morning sun, and our advanced guard, as it were, covered the whole of the front between us and the town, both parties intently looking out for a movement from the other. The morning was pleasantly cool, and every one in excellent spirits. About eight o'clock a stir was seen in our advance guard, and sundry horsemen galloping to and fro. Presently the order came for the main body to move to the front. Two troops of the 14th led; the 86th, battery of royal artillery, Woolcombe's battery, and

25th regiment with siege train followed, under the immediate command of Brigadier Stuart. We did not move directly on the town, but parallel to it, and the advance guard stretched out in the same way, the guns leading, and with them the general in front. As we then moved, there was a village with a tope of trees to its left. In the former was a body of the enemy's cavalry, and in the latter some infantry; and had we formed line facing the town, they would have been on our left flank. Instead of that, the line was formed facing them, our right flank covered by the advanced guard. We thus formed two lines at right angles with each other. We advanced towards the village, but did not get a chance of a shot, as both parties scampered off as we advanced. Our infantry now wheeled by sections to the right, and advanced on the town. We had advanced so far in line that we put a small village between us and the town, and up to the right of the village the battery of royal artillery moved and opened with shrapnel on the enemy's advanced cavalry. The first shot knocked over a horse, and instantly they opened out and bolted at a gallop. The infantry formed in quarter distance, and took shade under some trees at the village. The whole of the artillery then moved to the front, and opened a brisk fire at 300 yards. Immediately afterwards, on Major Orr opening upon the right, he was answered smartly; but the delay in answering us, and the bad practice when they did answer, clearly showed that we had turned their guns. This went on for upwards of an hour; in the meantime, Major Gall (14th dragoons) galloped towards the town, and so close, that we at the guns thought he was at the trees. All eyes were intently watching him. Presently, out comes a cavalry man at a gallop, making a great splutter, as these native fellows do; but he pulled up sharp when he found the major did not run from him. Out came several others, but they were allowed to come close up before Gall wheeled round and came galloping back for a troop which was with him. At once he had taken a complete survey of the position of the enemy's cavalry, and well they knew it; for no sooner did they see him coming with his troop, than they took to their heels and have never been seen since—so much for native cavalry. These had all been regulars, and many of them had their uniform

on, and nearly all had the regulation sabre. The fire of the enemy having now been drawn, and the position of their guns known, four companies of the 86th were ordered to advance on the town, of which they took possession without much opposition; the two guns that had been firing on us were withdrawn before there was a chance of charging them: the fire continued heavy on the right, the mutineers firing shot for shot. The general, with horse artillery battery, R.A., 14th dragoons, and part of the 86th, went across the town, and, on emerging from the other side, found how matters stood—the men who opposed us at the town were merely the rear-guard of the army, which had left in the direction of Calpee the moment we opened fire, and were by this time two miles off; the rear-guard moved off now, and a hot chase ensued. The whole of the infantry halted in a tope, and the cavalry, horse artillery, and battery, R.A., pursued; but this time they had an enemy of well-trained soldiers to fight against, and men who cared little for their lives. They fired and retired in perfect order; and at the first charge of the 14th, coolly knelt down and delivered their fire at ten yards. Of course the whole of that line was cut up. It was a succession of shrapnel from the artillery, and charges by the 14th, for eight miles, and that was only given up as night came on. The horses were quite done up, the whole of the ground they passed over being ploughed; the plain was strewn with the dead of the enemy, and all in uniform, the numbers of different corps showing how widely the mutineers have been scattered since they first broke out. Upwards of 400 bodies were counted on the plain. After dark, the pursuers came to the new camp, jaded and weary; and before that time the following day, some twelve horses had died of fatigue. The Hyderabad contingent had thirty casualties, killed and wounded of all arms; the 14th dragoons twenty-three killed and wounded; the 86th one wounded and three died of sun-stroke; the 71st seven of sun-stroke; besides these, numbers went to hospital from the heat, which was dreadful, the men had also been on foot since two in the morning, and had marched nine miles. I should have mentioned, that during the pursuit, a woman was killed, her horse had been killed by the artillery, and it is supposed she was shot by

some of her own people, perhaps to prevent her falling into our hands; at all events, her own people looted her, as she was naked when we came up to her. She was stout, fair-skinned, and apparently very handsome; the only wound she had was on the head. She is supposed to have been one of the attendants of the 'ranee.'"

The following extracts also furnish details of the affair at Konch, which will be read with interest:—

"Camp Koneh, *en route* to Calpee, 8th May.

"Here we are up to our necks, or knees rather, in blood and warfare. Yesterday's battle was a more brilliant one for our arms than that of the 1st ultimo. This is a lovely spot, and so thickly clustered are the trees, that the enemy had a decided advantage over us. We reached the ground at eight in the morning, and the general not knowing exactly the position the enemy held, threw his cavalry and artillery out in skirmishing order. However, we met some villagers who informed us of the locality; this having been ascertained, he ordered grog and biscuit to be issued, and allowed the troops to rest under the shade of the trees, while he went off himself as usual with some cavalry to reconnoitre, and then formed his plan of attack; the movement was a magnificent one, and looked so in the distance. The infantry, of course, kept up a continual file firing, to hunt out the brutes concealed behind the trees, &c. The enemy consisted of six regiments of the line, many of the men still wearing their old uniforms, and the cavalry and artillery were also numerous. The fellows met us outside the town and fort, and resisted desperately, but after six hours' hard fighting, they had to retire into the town, and then made up their minds to bolt. The 86th and 71st then stormed the place, and shot or bayoneted all the males they found in it. The Calpee road is described as being covered with the bodies of such as attempted to escape. The baneful heat of the sun killed more of our men than the bullet or steel of the enemy. Eight cases of *coup de soleil* in the 86th, and more than twice that number in the 71st. We march at one to-morrow morning for Calpee, and expect to have to fight every inch of the ground; an attack from Maun Sing is also reported as probable. There is a great paucity of medical warrant officers with the force, and the consequence is, some of them are precious hard worked, and what's

more, some of their superiors in the department may frequently be seen taking it easy in the dhoolies themselves, but if a poor sub should happen to be caught doing likewise, he is pitched into 'like old gooseberry.' I must not omit to mention a little affair that came off two or three days ago. Hearing that the enemy held a fort at Roharee near our last camping ground, the general sent out a force under Major Gall of the 14th dragoons, to dislodge them. The enemy had only one gun for the defence of the place, and that was soon taken, and the infantry prepared to storm while the cavalry formed a line round it, to prevent the escape of the garrison. The major wished to lead the men into the fort, but was pulled back by some of the 3rd regiment, having first received some ugly blows on the head with stones. Upon entering every male was put to death, one fellow who attempted to effect an escape with his wife, finding it impossible to do so, severed the woman's head at a blow, and then cut his own throat. This is desperate work, and something more than fighting."

After a necessary but short delay to recruit the exhausted energies of the troops, Sir Hugh Rose put his division again in motion for Calpee, and, on the 16th of the month, arrived before that place. Here he joined Brigadier Maxwell, whose column already occupied a position on the left bank of the Jumna, from whence a heavy fire was opened upon the town on the 22nd of May. The fire was to be kept up until 8 A.M. of the 23rd, after which the assault was to be made; but in the course of the 22nd, the rebels, at bay, desperately attacked the front and right wing of Sir Hugh's camp, and the latter arm being hard pressed, the camel corps was brought up, and the enemy being charged with the bayonet took to flight. The English line then moved forward, and the rout became general. Calpee being the last retreat of the rebels in that part of the country, they had sworn to destroy the European force, but after firing a few shots they fled, leaving the town and fort in the hands of Sir Hugh and his victorious troops. The cavalry and horse artillery were forthwith dispatched in pursuit, and coming up with the fugitives destroyed a great number of them, and took all their guns and ammunition. In the town and fort, foundries and manufactories of cannon and small arms were found undamaged, with several brass guns, and in the fort a subter-

aneous magazine was discovered, containing 4,000 barrels of gunpowder, and an immense quantity of ordnance stores.

The subjoined telegram from General Sir Hugh Rose reported the result of the attack on Calpee, and the dispersion of the rebel garrison:—

“Calpee, June 1st, 1858.

“The troops sent by me in pursuit of the Calpee sepoys and rebels took eight guns; of which two are English 9-pounders of the Gwalior contingent, and two others, horse-artillery guns of the rebels. Fifty guns were kept in the fort, of which one was an 18-pounder of the Gwalior contingent; and two are mortars made by the rebels. Twenty-four standards were taken; one of which is the colour of the Kotah contingent; and another a Velaitee standard, most of the rest are the colours of the different regiments of the Gwalior contingent. The subterranean magazine contains ten thousand pounds of English powder in barrels; nine thousand pounds of shot and empty shells. A quantity of eight-inch shot filled with shrapnel; a case of shot, siege and ball ammunition for small arms; entrenching tools of all kinds, tents, new and old, boxes of muskets quite new, flint and percussion, all sorts of ordnance stores in great quantities. The contents of this magazine we supposed to be worth two or three lacs. There are three or four foundries for cannon in the town; with all the requisites of a wheel and gun manufactory. A box has been found containing most important correspondence belonging to the rane of Jhansie, which throws great light on the revolt and its principal authors. Everything proves that the rebels considered Calpee and arsenal a point of great importance, which they intended to keep to the last; and that they now only abandon it in consequence of the severe defeat which they sustained at Galowlee, on the 20th of May; and the panic caused by the unexpected appearance of my force before Calpee on the following morning. Five or six hundred sepoys were killed in the pursuit, which was checked as usual by the intense heat of the sun, which knocked up men and horses. The sepoys are quite disheartened and disorganised. They throw away their arms, have left their red jackets, and disguised themselves in order not to be known as sepoys.”

After the severe punishment inflicted upon the insurgent forces by General Sir Hugh Rose at Calpee, the fugitive rebels, with the rane of Jhansie, her general, Tantia Topee, and the nawab of Banda, at their head, fled to Indoorkee, on the road to Gwalior, where they were joined by Rahim Ali and Koogar Danlap Sing, who brought with them about 1,500 men, and a few light guns; and here measures were concerted for an attack upon Scindia in his capital, in revenge for the fidelity he had preserved towards the English government. This movement of the rebels will be hereafter described. Meanwhile, it is necessary here to trace the proceedings connected with the assault and capture of

Kotah* by the Rajpootana field force, under General Roberts, which was effected almost simultaneously with the reduction of Jhansie by Sir H. Rose, and the details of which brilliant affair are as follow:—The force under General Roberts left Nusseerabad in two brigades, which were united at the city of Boondie, where a visit of ceremony was paid by the rajah, and returned by the general. Leaving this place, the force advanced towards Kotah, the neighbourhood of which was reached early on the morning of the 22nd of March, the encampment being formed on the north-western side of the river Chumbul, which lay between it and the city. A portion of the force detailed for this expedition, consisting of the 8th hus-sars, which had been dispatched from Bombay on their arrival from England in December, had not up to this time overtaken the column, and other portions of the cavalry arm, and of the artillery, were yet several marches behind the main body when it reached its camping ground. The general did not, however, delay operations on that account, and on the morning of the 24th, the bombardment of the city commenced. The enemy replied with a rapidity and precision that showed they had trained artillerymen amongst their ranks, and no sooner was one of their guns disabled than another was placed in its stead. For three days the fire continued unremittingly, and though the shells were obviously occasioning great havoc, the breaching guns produced no effect whatever, nor did the enemy at all slacken their fire. The fort, a strong building without the walls, on the north side of the town, was still in the possession of the rajah, who continued to hold allegiance to the English government, and was desirous of being released from the thralldom in which for several months he had been kept by his rebellious subjects. He had sent frequent messages explanatory of his situation, and of his desire for emancipation, but for various sufficient reasons, these had not hitherto been noticed. At length, on the arrival of the force, the maharajah came out of his palace fort to meet the general, again protesting fidelity to his engagements, inviting the former to occupy the fort, and beseeching him to bombard the city from that point, as likely to be most destructive. On the 27th of March, therefore, the whole of the British artillery crossed the Chumbul, and were received into the fort surrounding

* See *ante*, p. 159.

the palace, which was included within the *enceinte* of the town, being divided from the other buildings merely by a rampart with towers. From this position the vertical fire of the besiegers became terrific. Many parts of the town were in flames at the same time, while explosion followed explosion in quick succession, and by the 30th it was considered practicable to storm the place. Three columns of attack were accordingly detailed; the right, commanded by Colonel Parke, consisted of 250 of the 72nd highlanders, and the like number of the 12th native infantry; the second column, led by Colonel Holmes, embraced corresponding numbers of her majesty's 83rd regiment and the 12th native infantry; and the third column of equal strength, selected from her majesty's 95th regiment and the 10th native infantry, was under the command of Colonel Baines. The reserve, under Brigadier Macan, consisted of 200 of the 83rd, 100 of the 95th, and 250 of the 13th native infantry—each of the three columns were provided with engineer officers. Sappers and European pioneers, and all were supplied with one day's provisions and 120 rounds of ammunition for each man. Thus prepared, shortly after midnight of the 30th of March, the first column began to cross the river in boats, and on rafts entering the fort from the rajah's palace. At daybreak the whole of the guns and mortars, and every piece of ordnance that could be made available, opened upon the town, and kept up an unceasing cannonade until nine o'clock. It had been designed that a breach of forty feet should be established in the wall dividing the palace from the town, through which the first and second columns were to pass; the third column and the reserve entering the town by a gate which was to be blown open. The strength of the wall was, however, so great that time could not be spared to effect the desired breach, and the entire force was ordered to force admission by the gate. The sappers executed the orders given to them with admirable precision, and at noon an explosion at the Canton gate announced that the object had been attained. The troops, with a deafening cheer, rushed through the smoking ruins, trampling down every obstacle in their way. The entrance being thus effected, the first and second columns pushed on to the right, and the third to the left, the reserve remaining near the gate. In consequence of timely infor-

mation, the main street of the city, leading from the gate through its centre, was fortunately avoided, as formidable preparations had been made to receive the troops by mining it, and by placing at every convenient angle groups of loaded gun barrels, mounted in frames, and ready to be discharged when the troops were close to them. Nearly every street was doubly barricaded with cannon in position, to sweep the space before them with grape. Had not the warning been given, the destruction of the larger portion of the troops must have been inevitable. As the columns pressed on and occupied the bastions, the enemy found themselves taken in the rear, and seeing the tactics on which they had depended entirely frustrated, they ceased to offer resistance, and fled in all directions. A mass of them, who were not yet aware of their dangerous proximity to the third column, retreated by a route which brought them within a quarter of a mile of it, and suffered severely from the rifles. A great number of the fugitives managed to get out of the city by lowering themselves from the walls by ropes that had been evidently kept in readiness for the emergency. As soon as the whole of the bastions were occupied the troops had the complete command of the town, and proceeded to clear the houses of the armed men concealed in them. In one of these ten men had fortified themselves, and seemed determined to hold their position; and as there appeared to be no other way of dislodging them, the building was mined, and blown up with all it contained. When at length the carnage ceased, for want of men to be shot down, or blown into the air, it was computed that not more than 100 of the enemy had fallen, there having been a humane exception to the rules of war with the sepoys, as shown by the fact that 500 rebel prisoners were among the trophies of the day; fifty-seven pieces of cannon, most of them of brass and of large calibre, fell into the hands of the victors, whose loss consisted of one officer, (Lieutenant Hancock, of the engineers,) and six sappers, who were blown up by the explosion at the Canton-gate, and fourteen others killed, and about forty wounded in the assault. The cavalry brigade, which had joined the force on the night of the 29th, with some Goojerat irregular horse, altogether numbering about 1,200 sabres, and a troop of horse artillery, with sixteen guns, was ordered, on the 30th, to cross the river

at a ford about six miles down the river, and there await orders, the general having been induced to believe that the fugitive rebels would attempt to cross at the ford and nowhere else. The enemy, however, appeared to have no intention to cross at any given point, as they left the town by the side furthest from the river, and were enabled to pursue their course undisturbed over a vast unbroken plain, some fifteen or twenty miles in extent, where not a man could have escaped the swords and lances of the cavalry. The town was completely evacuated four hours before sunset, and the enemy, to the number of 6,000, who had with them their wives and children, with some millions-worth of property, and ten guns, might easily have been overtaken, had the cavalry been at once moved from its distant and useless position; but it was not until forty-eight hours had elapsed after their flight, that the cavalry received orders to follow; and they were then, as might have been expected, useless for the purpose of interception, although they recovered six of the ten guns carried off by the fugitives.

The victorious troops bivouacked, on the night of the 1st of April, in the streets of Kotah, throwing out the necessary pickets, and manning the bastions, and plundering was strictly repressed. Shortly after the capture of the town, Captain Bazalgette, of the 95th, was dispatched with a column to occupy an intrenched camp of the enemy to the south-eastward of the place; and, during the same afternoon, he was joined by Captain Bainbrigge, brigade-major, for the purpose of reporting the quantity of ammunition in camp. On examining one of the buildings a terrific explosion occurred, and the two officers, with several of their men, were blown up, their mangled bodies not being recovered till the following day. Immediately after this occurrence two natives were cut down by some officers of the 95th, as they were endeavouring to make their escape with lighted fuses in their hands, and there was little reason to doubt that the explosion had been the result of design. A brigade was now encamped on each side of the river, and the troops within the town were speedily established in quarters, and then a commission was appointed to investigate the conduct of the rajah, on the occasion of the murder of Major Burton, the political agent, and his sons, in the previous October.* The residency buildings, occu-

pied by the ill-fated gentleman, almost adjoined the walls of the fort, within which the palace of the rajah was situated, and the shouts and firing of the tumultuous rabble, and the mutineers of the contingent, while engaged in their murderous exploit, must have been heard within the royal residence, but no succour was afforded or interference attempted. The rajah now declared that he was unable to protect the victims in consequence of the outrageous insubordination of his troops, and the violence of the townspeople who had conceived a deadly animosity to the resident and his family. He averred that he would gladly have given assistance personally to defend the unfortunate gentlemen, but was restrained from doing so. No proof to the contrary could be obtained, and one statement of his highness was clearly verified, namely, that after the murder he had given decent interment to the remains of the deceased within the burial-ground of the residency; for, upon the graves being opened for verification, this proved to have been the case. The rajah was, consequently, acquitted of the charge of complicity in the murders, for want of evidence.

The following account of the capture of Kotah, was furnished by an officer of rank in the attacking column:—

“On the afternoon of the 29th of April, orders were issued for the attack and assault on the next day; and the following arrangements were made for the different columns:—

“Right column, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Park, H.M.’s 72nd; 250 of H.M.’s 72nd highlanders, and 250 of the 12th native infantry.

“Second column, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Holmes, 12th native infantry; 250 of H.M.’s 83rd regiment, and 250 of the 12th native infantry.

“Third column, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Raines, H.M.’s 95th; 250 of H.M.’s 95th regiment, and 250 of the 10th native infantry.

“Reserve, under the command of Brigadier Macan; 200 of H.M.’s 83rd regiment, 100 of H.M.’s 95th regiment, and 250 of the 13th native infantry.

“Each of the columns had two engineer officers, with a portion of sappers, a supply of tools, powder-bags, with the pioneers of the European regiment with it; and two mountain-train howitzers brought up the rear of each attacking column. The im-

* See ante, p. 159.

pression was, that the enemy would show hard fighting; consequently, each man had one day's provisions, and 120 rounds of ammunition with him. At one o'clock in the night of the 29th, or morning of the 30th, the first column commenced to cross over to the rajah's right bank, and take up positions in that part of the town, and by seven o'clock, the whole of the 3rd column and the 13th native infantry—which had to join the reserve, the 83rd and 95th forming part of it, having already been in the town some three or four days before—were safely landed without an accident of any kind. The troops crossed in boats belonging to the rajah, and on rafts, each holding about forty men, made by the engineers with arrack barrels, brought with us from Ajmere, the enemy only firing two shots soon after daylight at the 95th's parties as they crossed the river, but happily without effect. The plan of attack was, that the artillery should commence firing at daylight from every piece available, both of ours and the rajah's, and continue the bombardment as quick as possible till 9 o'clock A.M., or until the order for the assault was given. It was intended that the first column should pass out of the rajah's portion of the town to the attack. A breach of forty feet in the wall of the works was to be made by three mines by our engineers; the second column was also to make its exit by the same means; the third column by the Khetonepole-gate, which had also to be blown out, and the reserve to follow; but the engineers having discovered that the wall near the first column was so thick it would take a considerable time to excavate the mines sufficiently deep to crumble it, it was determined to abandon this design, and that all the columns should pass out of the Khetonepole. At about twelve o'clock the powder-bags were placed, the fuse lighted, and soon after rockets flew into the air as a signal, followed by an explosion—the gate was clear. Out our men poured in quick succession, though with the utmost steadiness, each brigadier at the head of his column, sword in hand, the first and second leading to the right, the third to the left, while the fourth remained in reserve. In one half hour afterwards, the whole of the town immediately in front of the attacking party was in our possession. The first column, having routed the enemy from their bastions, occupied the Soorujpole-gate,

thus taking the rebels quite in rear, who, not being aware that the third column was to the left, crossed its front at 400 yards, when a great number were killed by the Enfield rifles of the 95th. Others seeing that they would have to run the gauntlet, made for the bastions, and effected their escape over the walls by ropes, which had apparently been in readiness for this purpose; and one man, who was mounted (I was told by an officer who saw him), in a paroxysm of frenzy, spurred his horse to the rampart, and jumped clear over, a fall of fifty feet. Both horse and rider I saw afterwards at the foot of it outside, killed. After occupying the bastions and commanding houses, we proceeded to clear the latter; and in one, some eight or ten men were found fully armed and prepared to fight, and as they could not be dislodged, Colonel Parke desired the sappers to mine the angles (it was here that the 72nd lost two men in the attempt), which being done, the party were blown up, as it was quite impossible to leave them in our rear. It was afterwards discovered that Lalla Sing (brother of Hera Sing, the commander of the rebels) was among the number in that house; it was his head-quarters. Nearly in every street was a gun in position to sweep it, with, in many instances, double barricades in front; and here and there, by the guns, infernal machines, with fifty barrels each, loaded half way up, and duly primed. The first division captured sixteen guns, the second eight, the third fourteen; in all, fifty-seven guns (two-thirds of which are brass of the heaviest metal) have been taken. Some of the iron ones, mounted in commanding positions at the angles of the walls on high bastions, are of the largest calibre and size, throwing heavier shot than our 68's. We took upwards of 500 prisoners, all of whom have been handed over to the political agent; some of them are recognised as condemned convicts, who have been freed by the rebels to work the guns. That night the columns bivouacked in the town, throwing out pickets and occupying the bastions, and a harder day's work we never had. The number of our killed and wounded has not, happily, been many, but I am unable to give the exact numbers. Poor Hancock, of the engineers, and some five or six European sappers, were blown up at one of the gates; four of the latter, belonging to Captain Cumberland's 11th company, royal engineers, were killed, and

Hancock, though much burnt, is, I am glad to say, doing well. All our soldiers, both European and native, were prevented looting, while the rajah's people were allowed to take what they pleased, even to drive off through the gates the finest oxen past our guards. On the morning of the 30th nearly all the cavalry of Captain Petrie's troop of horse artillery were sent to cross the ford some six miles lower down the river, and take up a position. They mustered nearly 1,000 strong, with six guns; and, I believe, received instructions to intercept the enemy when retreating; but strange to say, they were in the same place forty-eight hours after the enemy had fled from the town and evacuated his intrenched camp on the other side of it, still inactive; and it was not till fifty-two hours had elapsed that they commenced to pursue them. We have heard that their inactivity arose from the want of sufficiently distinct orders from the major-general, as I know that the 8th hussars, Scinde horse, and irregular beloochees were most anxious for the chase. The rebels are said to be still 4,000 infantry, with 1,000 cavalry, and ten guns strong. They are reported to be much hampered with loot, and are said to have six crores of rupees with them. It is believed the general has received intelligence that they are marching on Salumba, an impregnable hill-fort cut out of the solid rock; but whether we shall go after them or not is unknown. Major the honourable A. Massey, 95th regiment, has been appointed commandant in the town, and I believe that the rajah has been

required to pay twenty-five lacs for its redemption; if he fails, it is said then we shall annex it. I have now to tell you of a most melancholy event which happened on the afternoon of the 1st. Captain Bazalgette, of the 95th regiment, had been sent with his company on the previous morning to occupy the enemy's camp on the south-east side of the town. On the afternoon of the 1st, Captain Bainbrigge, the brigade-major 1st brigade, visited Captain Bazalgette, for the purpose of reporting to Brigadier Macan the quantities of ammunition in the enemy's camp. Both officers left together to examine the houses, when, soon after entering one of them a cracking noise was heard, and a terrific explosion took place. There is too much reason to suppose that the house was fired on purpose, as two men were killed by one of the 95th as they were escaping with burning fuses in their hands. The remains of the two officers, whose bodies were so burnt that they could scarcely be recognised, were only found yesterday morning among the ruins. They were buried together in one coffin in the afternoon, followed by all the officers of the 1st brigade, with the band of the 10th, and a firing party of 130 rank and file from the 95th regiment, in the consecrated Christian burial-ground near the residency."

On the morning of the 10th of April the column began to break up; some of the siege guns were conducted to Nusseerabad under escort, and preparations were made for distributing the force, with the exception of the 92nd and 95th regiments, which were to be left to garrison Kotah.

CHAPTER XL

MOVEMENTS OF SIR COLIN CAMPBELL; SIR JAMES OUTRAM AND THE CHIEF COMMISSIONERSHIP OF OUDE; THE BRITISH FORCE AT LUCKNOW; ITS ARRANGEMENT; GENERAL WALPOLE AND THE ROHILCUND FIELD FORCE; GENERAL SIR HOPE GRANT'S COLUMN; THE MOULVIE OF FYZABAD; PLAN OF THE ROHILCUND CAMPAIGN; THE ROORKEE FIELD FORCE; MOORADABAD; ARREST OF REBEL CHIEFS BY BRIGADIER JONES; MILITARY DESPATCHES; ADVANCE OF GENERAL WALPOLE; THE FORT OF ROODAMOW; DEATH OF BRIGADIER ADRIAN HOPE; GENERAL WALPOLE'S DESPATCH; CORRESPONDENCE; AFFAIR WITH REBEL FORCE AT SIRSA; PASSAGE OF THE RAMGUNGA AT ALLYGUNGE; THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN ROHILCUND; ADVANCE TO SHAHJEHANPORE AND BAREILLY; DEATH OF GENERAL PENNY AND SIR WILLIAM PEEL; MOHUMDEE; FUTTEGHUR; CLOSE OF THE CAMPAIGN; CONGRATULATORY ADDRESS TO THE ARMY.

IN order satisfactorily to trace the operations which, after the reduction of Lucknow, came directly under the supervision of

the commander-in-chief personally, it will be expedient to revert briefly to the circumstances which occurred at the head-

